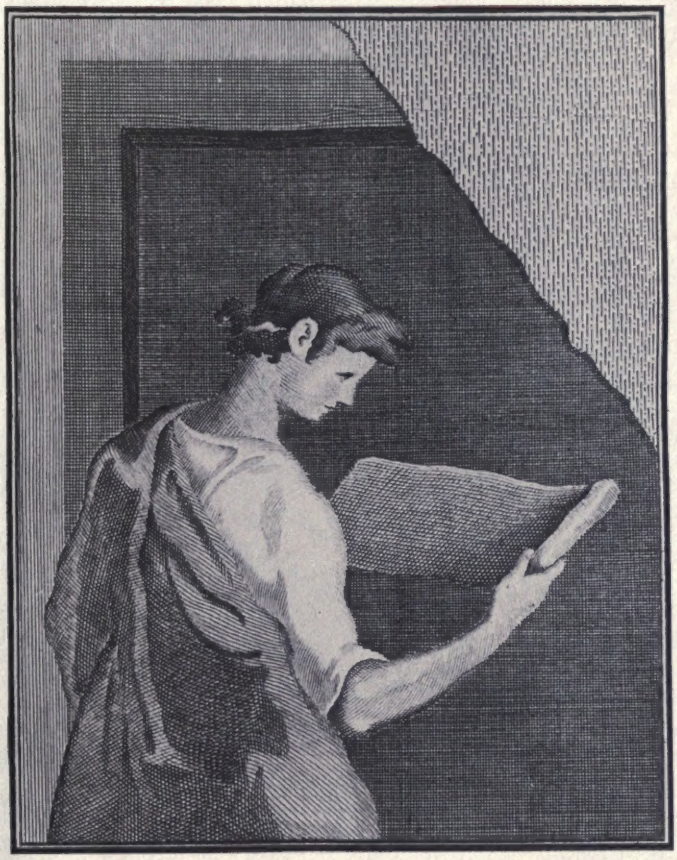

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# POMPEI

## THE CITY, ITS LIFE & ART

BY

PIERRE GUSMAN

TRANSLATED BY

FLORENCE SIMMONDS

AND

M. JOURDAIN

*With 500 Text Illustrations and 12 Coloured Plates*
*from Drawings by the Author*

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# PREFACE

*A passionate and faithful pilgrim to Pompei, the ancient city was so full of charm for me, the smiling skies and sunny atmosphere of fair Campania breathed such balm into my soul, that I offer a labour of love to the reader in the book I lay before him.*

*I have not attempted an imaginary reconstruction, but I have honestly tried to make Pompei live again, by the help of authentic documents found in the buried city, and by the light of the many books that deal with the subject. This is a history of the Pompeians, illustrated by themselves. The subject is vast, too vast indeed. I have been obliged to restrict myself to a comparatively narrow field, but I shall esteem myself happy if I have been able to make my readers catch some of those delicate echoes from a bygone world that have stirred my own senses so deliciously.*

*P. G.*

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# PART I

## DESTRUCTION OF POMPEI AND THE EXCAVATIONS

Pompei from the Gate of Stabiæ

# I

## CAMPANIA—ITS CLIMATE AND ITS CHARM—OPINIONS OF ANCIENT WRITERS

THE Campania of ancient times is the Campania of to-day : a land bathed in sunlight, where the drowsy line of the mountains enfolds the horizon with delicate curves, and where the snowy peaks of winter blend into the harmony of the opalescent distance ; a land where the pure atmosphere and the breath of the warm air hover caressingly over the fields, the green champaign land, and the golden or sombre trees ; and where Nature is vocal with the song of birds of passage, blending into the plaintive murmur of waves or the deep-toned roll of breakers on the neighbouring beach.

All is unchanged save the mountain to the north, gloomy now where it once was green and smiling. From its crest rises a long trail of smoke ; for this is the force that suddenly laid waste the land with fire and water. But Nature reasserted her rights ; fields, trees, and meadows appeared again, and covered the desert, and from the bed of ashes that lay on the land like a shroud—from death itself—a new life has risen.

This enchanting land has been sung by ancient writers in lines that are often all too brief. The poets of the age of fable say that it was

originally inhabited by anthropophagi, and that Sirens dwelt on the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea—among them Circe the enchantress, Scylla and Charybdis, the most cruel of their brood; fantastic symbols of the reefs and storms and whirlpools that brought death to travellers in face of the fair shores they had hardly seen. Volcanic countries have always given birth to gloomy myths. Diodorus Siculus says that the people of this region were so strong that they were looked upon as Titans, sons of the Earth.

In ancient times the Bay of Naples was called the Bay of the Crater, and was the centre of the *Campi Phlegræi* of the Vesuvian region. Perhaps the gulf itself is an immense volcano that the sea has invaded and covered, and Vesuvius, Epomeo in Ischia, and the many craters near Pozzuoli, may be only so many cones of eruption.

Pompei is a city of very ancient lineage. Strabo says that the Pelasgians and Oscans, who possessed Pompei and Herculaneum, ascribed the foundation of the sister cities to Hercules. We know that at the time of the foundation of Cumæ and Parthenope the Greeks had other settlements on the coast of Magna Græcia, where they introduced their taste for art and commerce. Later on the Etruscans took possession of the Campi Phlegræi, and the cities of Campania, of which Capua was the capital, formed a federation. The Campanians, enervated by their life of pleasure and luxury, fell under the yoke of the Samnites, who in their turn were overcome by the Romans; for from 315 to 290 B.C. Rome was at war with the Samnites of Campania, who finally submitted to her rule in 270. It was shortly after the Social War, in the year 80 B.C., that Sulla reduced Pompei to a *military colony*, under the name *Colonia Veneria Cornelia.* The conquerors lived outside the town, in the suburb which was known later on as the *Pagus Augustus Felix.* Even under Roman domination, however, the Campanian cities long remained *municipia*, or free boroughs, and administered their own affairs. Under Nero there was a considerable increase in the population, and, following the example of Rome, the city

had its duumvirs and decurions. Pompei had become a *Roman colony.*

The port of Pompei, the *entrepôt* of all the country round, was formed by the mouth of the Sarnus, navigable in ancient times. It could receive a fleet, and Publius Cornelius lay at anchor there. On the shore were the *Pompeian Marshes* mentioned by Columella, and the *Salt-Rocks of Hercules* were situated near the rock called *Hercules' Shoulder*, which now bears the name of *Isoletta di Rivigliano*, and can be distinctly seen from Pompei.

Many great men lived at Pompei. Augustus came here to visit Cicero, who had such a charming villa that he declared "*Tusculum et Pompeianum valde me delectant.*" It was here the orator wrote his essay *De Officiis*, and in his praises of Campania, and the Campanian towns, so wealthy, well-built, and beautiful, that their citizens could afford to laugh at the poor cities of Latium, he mentions Pompei.

Phædrus, the writer of fables, took refuge in Pompei to escape the persecution of Sejanus and Tiberius. Claudius had a country-house in the neighbourhood, and Suetonius relates that one of the Emperor's sons died there, choked by a pear that he had thrown in the air and caught in his mouth. Statius wrote that "all things conspire to make life pleasant in this land, where the summers are cool and the winters warm, and where the sea dies away gently as it kisses the shore."

Florus also declares it to be not only the loveliest spot in Italy, but in the world, and Seneca recalls the pleasant memory of his stay at Pompei, which was famed among the Romans for its "roses, its wines, and its pleasures."

The city itself, situated about five miles from the crater of Vesuvius, was built on a rock of ancient lava, the terraces of which commanded a wide view of the valley of the Sarnus and of the mountains of Stabiæ, washed by those waters in which Capri rears its giant head on the horizon of the bay.

# II

## THE FIRST EARTHQUAKE OF THE YEAR 63—THE REBUILDING OF THE TOWN

POMPEI, which both Tacitus and Seneca describe as "famous," though it had played no great part in history, had reached the height of its prosperity. Men went there to find quiet and leisure for their studies, far from the strife and turmoil of public life, and many, again, came to live a life of pleasure at their ease. Such peaceful joys were not to be long-lived. On February 5, 63 A.D., an earthquake shook the countryside. As Seneca tells the tale: "Pompei, an important town of Campania, lying where the sea has hollowed a smiling bay between Cape Surrentum and Stabiæ on the one side, and Herculaneum on the other, was destroyed by an earthquake that wasted all the country round. It was in winter, an unusual time for these visitations, according to tradition. The catastrophe happened on the nones of February, in the consulate of Regulus and Virginius. Campania, which, in spite of alarms, had escaped actual danger hitherto, and had feared rather than suffered from the scourge, was cruelly laid waste on this occasion. Not only Pompei, but Herculaneum too, was partially destroyed, and whatever of it is left standing is much damaged. The colony of Nuceria, near Pompei, though it has suffered less, did not altogether escape. At Naples many private houses were wrecked, but the public buildings are left standing. Villas were shaken to their foundations, and men say that a flock of six hundred sheep was destroyed, statues were rent and broken,

and poor wretches are to be seen in the country who have lost their reason under the stress of their terror."

The principal buildings of Pompei were destroyed and its houses were in ruins. Nearly all these buildings were restored in the style of the day—the style of Rome and Nero; and the Greek buildings that were the pride of the city were not all rebuilt. Some ruins of these remain, which we will notice later on. Many old vases of the best periods were destroyed, owing to their fragility, and many paintings by Greek artists have disappeared without leaving a trace. But there still remain many examples beautiful enough to interest both artists and archæologists, and to enable them to appreciate that Alexandrian art which, in spite of its faults, most closely reflects the art of Greece.

Many of the houses in Pompei were hastily rebuilt, and we often find fragments of amphoræ in the masonry of the walls, and broken bits of marble embedded in the mortar; indeed, in one place, an amphora supplies the place of a beam in the frame of a door. Buildings were restored; the temple roof sheltered the gods again, and sacrifices were offered to propitiate their anger. The light-hearted Pompeians took up their pleasant life once more, under the blue sky of their country, feeling only occasional alarms that were quickly forgotten.

At this time Vesuvius is described by Plutarch and Strabo as a mountain with one peak, lying in a very fertile country, its slopes green with plants and shrubs and vines, except on the summit, which was almost entirely flat and barren, and scarred with fire. The caverns there, with their deep fissures, the dark, calcined, ash-coloured rocks, were a sufficient proof that the mountain was a volcano, extinct from want of fuel. In 64, Tacitus mentions another earthquake which wrecked the theatre at Naples, where Nero was singing, but the Emperor and the audience escaped unhurt.

# III

## THE ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS IN THE YEAR 79—PLINY'S TWO LETTERS

THESE repeated and violent shocks were a warning calling to mind the volcanic origin of the Campi Phlegræi, and after sixteen years of comparative peace, on August 23, 79 A.D., in the reign of Titus, the awful drama began. The fires beneath the earth broke loose, and Vesuvius threw up torrents of lava, mud, and burning ashes. In a few days Campania was a desert. Herculaneum, Retina, Oplontis, Tegianum, Taurania, Cosa, Vesiris, Stabiæ, and Pompei were buried out of sight. The stream of lava passed by Pompei, which stood on a little hill of tufa, but the ashes and pumice-stones (lapilli) covered it like a grave.

Pliny the younger, an eye-witness of the catastrophe, wrote to Tacitus to give him the details of the death of his uncle, the naturalist, who was one of its victims. "You ask me to tell you [he writes] how my uncle met his death, so that you may write a true and detailed account of it for future generations. . . . He was at Misenum, in command of the fleet. On the ninth day before the kalends of December, about the seventh hour, my mother showed me a cloud rising, of strange shape and extraordinary size. From a distance it was difficult to see distinctly from what mountain this cloud proceeded; afterwards we found that it was from Vesuvius. It was most like a pine-tree in shape, for it had the appearance of a very large and towering trunk that spread into a number of branches. I imagine that it was driven up by a violent blast, and that then, left

without support as the gust died away, it was sinking by its own weight, and dissolving breadth-wise. It was now white, now dark, and spotted with the earth and ashes carried up in its course. My uncle, as a natural philosopher, considered the phenomenon of great interest, and worth closer study. He ordered a cutter to be got ready. . . .

"He was just leaving his house when he received a message from Rectina, the wife of Taxus, who was terrified by the danger that threatened her; for her house lay at the foot of the mountain, and there was no way of escape from it except by sea. She implored him to come to her rescue. . . . He ordered quadriremes to be got ready, and went on board to carry help, not to Rectina alone, but to many others, for this coast is a pleasant place, and much frequented. He courted the danger from which others fled, and made straight for it without a thought of fear, dictating, and making notes of all the peculiar features and phases of the phenomenon as he observed them.

"Already a shower of ashes was falling on the vessels, and the nearer they approached, the hotter and thicker these became. Then followed a hail of stones and pebbles, blackened, calcined, and broken by fire. The bottom of the sea was heaved up suddenly, and a fall of rock from the mountain side made it impossible to go on shore.

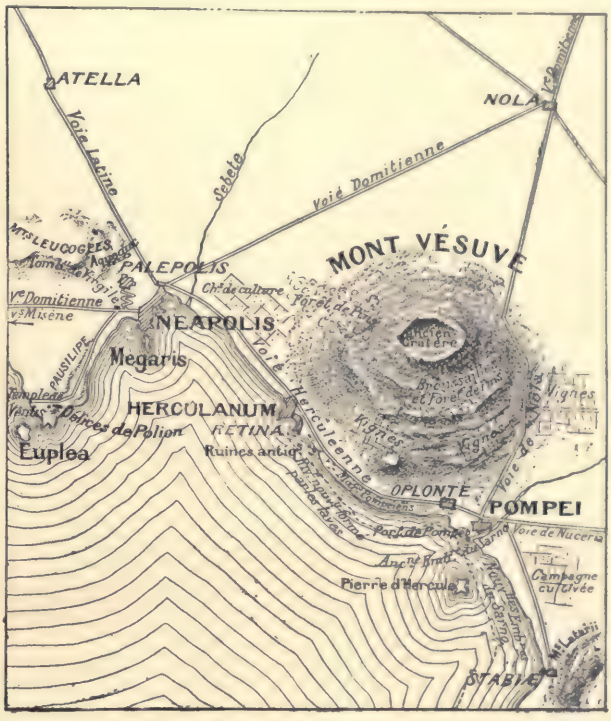
"He hesitated a moment whether he should return, but when the pilot advised him to do so he answered: 'Fortune favours the brave; let us steer for Pomponianus' house.' Pomponianus lived at Stabiæ, on the other side of the bay, for the sea runs up the coast in creeks that curve in and out almost imperceptibly. There the danger was not so imminent, though evident enough, and as it hourly increased, Pomponianus had had his luggage carried on board ship, and resolved to set sail directly the adverse wind fell. My uncle, with the wind in his favour, landed, and found his friend unnerved with fear, embraced him, bade him take heart, and to reassure him by his own quiet courage, asked to be taken to the bath. . . .

"Meantime, however, broad sheets of fire were to be seen shining on many parts of the mountain, and great flames broke out and flashed with a brightness intensified by the darkness of the night.

"To reassure his hosts, my uncle declared that the peasants had left fires in their homes, in their headlong flight, and that it was these houses that were burning in the deserted country. Then he went to rest. . . . But the court that led to his room was so choked with ashes and pumice-stones that, if he had stayed there longer, he would not have been able to get out. He was roused, and went to rejoin Pomponianus and the others who had kept watch. They discussed whether it would be wiser to stay in the house or wander into the open country, for the buildings were swaying from the repeated and violent shocks, and almost wrenched from their foundations. They seemed to rock to and fro, and then return to their original position. On the other hand, in the open air, they would be exposed to the danger of pumice-stones falling on them, though these stones were light, being dried up by fire. In this choice of evils they decided on the latter. They tied cushions on their heads with cloths as a protection against the falling stones. Day had begun to dawn elsewhere, but there it was blackest night, broken only by numberless torches and flames of all kinds. They decided to go down to the shore to see if they could embark, but there was still a heavy sea and a contrary wind. There my uncle stretched himself on a sheet and lay down, and several times asked for cold water, and drank some. Then the flames, and the smell of sulphur that gave warning of their approach, drove the others away and roused him. He leant on two slaves, and got up, but fell down suddenly. I believe that the heavy vapour choked him, for his throat was always very small and weak, and he often had a difficulty in breathing. When daylight returned on the third morning after the last day of his life, his body was found, with the clothes he had last worn, untouched and unharmed. He lay like a man asleep rather than like one dead. . . . My mother and I were at Misenum all the time." *

* Pliny, Book VI., Letter xvi.

In a second letter we find the following description: "We had felt the vibration of an earthquake for the past few days without its causing us any great uneasiness, for we are used to this in Campania. But this night the shocks were so violent that things were overturned, and not merely shaken. My mother ran to my room, and we sat in the open space before our house, a narrow strip of land that lay between it and the sea. . . . It was then the first hour, but the light was still faint and sickly. All the surrounding buildings were shaken, and though we were in the open, the place was so narrow that there was the risk (or rather the certainty) of being buried under the ruins. It was then we decided to quit the town. . . . The crowd followed us, mad with fear. In the midst of the dangers that threatened us many curious sights met our eyes, and a thousand terrors assailed us. The carriages we had sent on in advance were driven in opposite directions, though the ground was quite flat, and it was impossible to make them stand still, even by steadying them with stones. Then, the sea was ebbing out, apparently driven back by the shock of the earthquake; at any rate, the shore was much extended, and a great number of marine animals were left high and dry on the beach. We could now see a black lowering cloud, torn by a blast of fire that furrowed it with rapid zigzag lines, and as it opened it disclosed long trails of fire, like forked lightning, only much larger. Soon afterwards the cloud came down and covered the sea and




Map of the Bay of Naples

hid the Isle of Capræa from sight. The promontory of Misenum disappeared . . . and a shower of ashes began to drop (only a scanty shower as yet); then total darkness fell over all." *

Pliny then describes the lamentations of the fugitives, their curses on the gods, their cries that it was the last night of the world, the coming of eternal night. There was such a thick fall of ashes that he was obliged to shake them off, for fear of being stifled by their weight. "At last [he writes] the darkness dispersed into a mist or smoke, soon the daylight appeared, and then the sun, which looked livid, and darkened as though by an eclipse. Everything was changed, as we looked out on the world with dimmed eyes. The ashes had covered all things as with a carpet of snow."

"Ah, see Vesuvius [writes Martial], that once wore a crown of green vines, whose generous fruit flooded our overflowing presses! See the slopes that Bacchus loved more than the hills of Nysa! But now the satyrs danced on the hill; it was the seat of Venus, dearer to her than Lacedæmon, and honoured by the name of Hercules. And now the flames have destroyed all, 'tis all buried under drifts of ashes! The gods themselves might wish their power had not so prevailed!"

* Pliny, Book VI., Letter xx.

# IV

## THE STRATA FORMED BY THE ERUPTION—IMPRINTS OF HUMAN BODIES

WHEN we examine the strata formed by the eruption, we see that Pompei was first covered by a bed of pumice-stone ten feet deep, the inequalities of which were then levelled by a deluge of fine ashes. These enveloping strata vary from ten feet to rather more than seventeen feet, and the upper layers of the soil of the country round Pompei to-day are due to later eruptions.*

Contrary to the current belief, Pompei was not destroyed by fire, which only spread in a few places in the town. Beulé† thinks that the condition of the beams and wooden door-posts, which are found in dust among the

* In 1818, Lyell, the geologist, drew up a section plan of the ground laid open by the excavations. Near the amphitheatre he found the following strata, in the natural order of their deposition:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Pumice-stones and white lapilli . . . . | 2.7559 | inches. |
| 2. | Solid grey tufa . . . . . | 2.7559 | ,, |
| 3. | Layer of whitish lapilli . . . . . | .7874 | ,, |
| 4. | Dark earthy tufa, with lapilli deposited in layers | 56.6928 | ,, |
| 5. | Scoriæ in small fragments and white lapilli . | 2.7559 | ,, |
| 6. | Blackish conglomerate tufa full of pisolithic globules . . . . . | 18.1102 | ,, |
| 7. | Vegetable earth. | | |
| 8. | Black shiny sand from the eruption of 1822 containing small crystals . . . . . | 2.7559 | ,, |
| | | 122.3497 | |

That is, rather more than ten feet. In the work, *Pompei e la regione sotterata dal Vesuvio* (Naples, 1879), we get approximately the same results from an examination of strata.

† *Le Drame de Vésuve* (Paris).

ashes, is due only to the continual damp of centuries, and he draws attention to the fact that those portions of the beams that are pierced by wedges and nails have been preserved by oxide of iron. The fire spread in several places, however, and the walls must have become very hot

A Man (Museum of Pompei)

under the action of the warm ashes: the coating of wax on the walls has in many cases disappeared, and yellow pigments have turned red from the heat.

In spite of the violence of the earthquake, the houses are in fairly

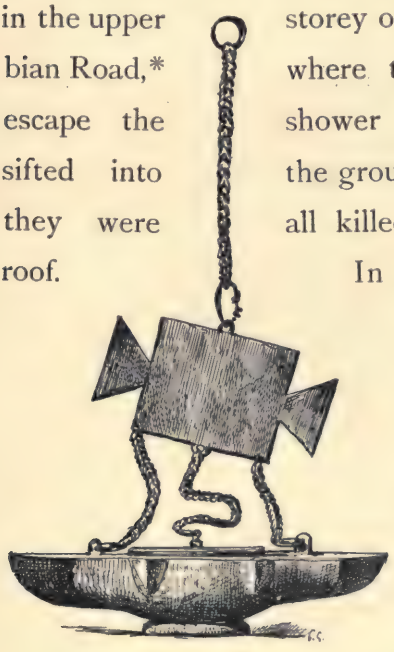
A Skeleton embedded in Ashes

good preservation, for though the roofs fell in, and the upper storeys (with the exception of a few it was possible to restore), they resisted for some time. We may note this in the course of the excavations now going on, for the tiles of the roofs are not often found lying on the floor of the house, but are generally embedded in the ashes at a certain height above the lapilli. We may infer that the ashes and stone sifted

into the rooms before the roofs fell in, and Pliny's account confirms this hypothesis.

A Lantern (Naples Museum)

From his first letter to Tacitus we see that at Stabiæ escape from the disaster was comparatively easy. Pompei, with its 20,000 inhabitants, lying midway between Stabiæ and Vesuvius, must have been buried more rapidly, but many made good their escape, and it has been estimated that one-tenth of the inhabitants survived. Comparatively few skeletons are found in the city itself, but many must be buried in the countryside. Many people wished to take their money with them, while others hid themselves in cellars: and the skeletons of a family of eleven were found in the upper storey of a house on the Stabian Road,* where they had climbed to escape the shower of hot ashes that sifted into the ground floor: and where they were all killed by poisonous gases or by the fall of the roof.



A Lamp (Naples Museum)

In 1787 eight skeletons were found beneath a fallen wall, one holding a lantern in its hand.†

A woman was found who had fallen on the threshold of a *tablinum* in the act of carrying off some jewellery in an inlaid box. She wore a collar of amulets round her neck, and bone pins, and had phials of perfume about her.

In the *House of the Faun* a skeleton of a woman was found beside a lamp, but the head is gone. Almost all the dead had wrapped their heads

* In the excavations of 1869.

† *Giornale dei Scari.*

in cloaks, while others had bound cushions on their heads to protect them from the shower of stones.

Several have been discovered with food near them, like the man who

A Man (Museum of Pompei)

was found with a plate beside him, on which were the bones of some small animal.

In the cellars of the *Villa of Diomedes* eighteen bodies of women and children were discovered, with all sorts of provisions ready to hand. They had been suffocated by the ashes: all lay with their heads covered as if asleep. A man—the probable owner of the villa—key in hand, lay

Man with Sandals (Museum of Pompei)

stretched on the ground near the gate leading from the garden, with his slaves, who had followed with money and valuables.

Some of these tragic figures are of extraordinary interest. Two women, perhaps mother and daughter, were found lying on the ashes, not far from a man wearing drawers, and shoes studded with heavy nails. Another young woman, a graceful creature with a delicate neck, a slender

figure and well-shaped legs, her hair plaited high on her head, lay face downwards, leaning on one arm.

A Woman (Museum of Pompei)

This cast of her, and many others, we owe to Fiorelli, the great Italian antiquarian, who began the excavations at Pompei on definite scientific principles, and whose system has been adopted by those who came after him. His bust has stood for some years in the civil Forum at Pompei. His plan was to pour plaster into the natural moulds made by the wet ashes, which on drying had formed a solid crust round the bodies, retaining their imprint after they themselves had fallen into dust. This process was carried out, and we are indebted to it for the casts reproduced here.

Key of Diomedes (Naples Museum)

Another charming female figure is that of a woman with a ring on her hand, pendants in her ears, and slippers on her daintily arched feet. She was found lying on her back, with her garments rolled round her hips, showing her rounded thighs and

A Man (Museum of Pompei)

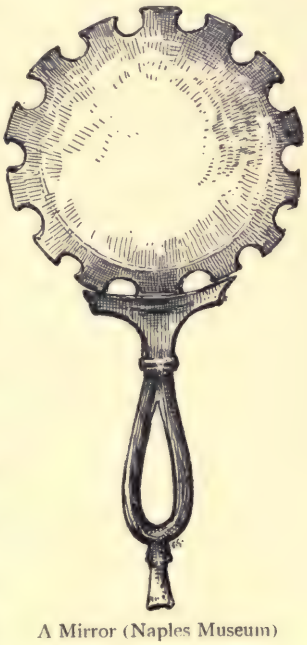
delicately modelled knees and ankles. By her side were only an amber Cupid and a mirror. Her beauty was doubtless the greatest of her possessions.

The dog reproduced here was fastened by a chain to his collar, so that he could not escape. He was the watch-dog of the *House of Orpheus*.

Skeletons of prisoners were taken from the prison near the Forum, with their leg-bones in iron shackles. It has been stated by many authorities that only one soldier has been found. He was discovered near the so-called Gate of Herculaneum, the boundary of the *Pagus Augustus Felix*, which has not yet been excavated. The skull and helmet of this soldier have been preserved. They are among the few martial relics that have been discovered, other than the weapons of gladiators, of whom there were large numbers at Pompei.

The Dog of Pompei (Museum of Pompei)

In spite of the tragedy of these "old unhappy far-off things," the memory of these death-agonies, and of this cutting off of young life, the remoteness of the catastrophe and the interest of the disinterred city enable the mind to fall wholly under the spell of history, and we carry inhumanity so far as to feel no regret for a disaster which has preserved this amazing record of Græco-Roman antiquity, a chronicle more vivid than that of any pen. Without Vesuvius, what would have been the fate of these streets, these houses and temples, this lifelike painting and delicate sculpture? Wars and the course of civilisation would have inevitably destroyed the treasure that remains for our delight, leaving but a vague memory to posterity.



A Mirror (Naples Museum)

When the storm from the mountain had spent itself, the survivors came back to the place where their homes had stood, the cradle of their childhood. They had no longer a city; all had disappeared, and the sea

had ebbed five furlongs,* owing to the upheaval of the soil. The upper storeys of some houses that were still standing above the drift of ashes must have served to guide the Pompeians in their search, for it is certain that they returned to their old homes, to take away the valuables they had left. The very paintings were cut from the walls, and in modern excavations it is not unusual to find a decorative panel with its principal motive gone; the wall has crumbled in the blank space, leaving only some clamps of rusted iron intact. The Pompeians must have entered their houses, or the houses of their neighbours, by the upper storeys, which were on a level with the ground, owing to the raising of the soil. Breaches were made in the walls to give access from one room to another, for the doors, passages, and porticoes were blocked by pumice-stones. Those rooms which were only partially buried were, consequently, stripped of their valuables; statues were removed, marble facings were cut away, furniture and pavements disappeared. It is also supposed that Alexander Severus had a large quantity of marbles, columns, and statues of very fine workmanship dug out of the city at a later date. In the course of our modern excavations, skeletons have been found standing nearly upright, and one of them, who had a hatchet in his hand, must have died in the act of breaking a hole in the wall. It is supposed that the mephitic vapours suffocated them, and that they were buried by falling masonry.† In the entrance to the house of Popidius Priscus, which had been searched in ancient times,

Skull and Helmet of a Soldier (Naples Museum)

* Ruggiero, one of the directors of the excavations, sunk wells in the district in 1879, in the process of rectifying the course of the Sarnus, and came to the conclusion that this old shore was about five furlongs from Pompei (one mile now), and that the sea had made an inlet in the coast near Pompei, where the original mouth of the Sarnus was. (See *Pompei e la Regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio*, Naples, 1879.)

† Even in our own time poisonous gases rise from cellars and sewers that have been blocked up.

the following inscription * is scratched with a pointed instrument: ΔΟΥΜΜΟC ΠΕΡΤΟΥCΑ, which means "a house emptied or searched."

Not long after the disaster there were projects for rebuilding the town. Suetonius writes that "the reign of Titus was marked by great and unforeseen calamities, the eruption of Vesuvius in Campania, and at Rome a fire that lasted three days and nights, and a plague that laid waste the town. The Emperor acted with royal energy, and showed a father's care for his people in their misfortunes, encouraging them by his edicts and helping them with his bounties. Consulars were chosen by lot, and charged to repair the destruction of Campania; and the property of those who had perished without heirs, in the eruption of Vesuvius, was employed in rebuilding the ruined cities."

Many writers have gone so far as to say that Pompei was excavated and re-inhabited after the eruption. But this is a purely imaginary hypothesis, and no coins later than the reign of Titus, or the year 79, have been found hitherto. A new city, however, must have been built at the foot of Vesuvius, and Fiorelli describes its situation in his *Giornale dei Scavi*. It must have stood where Bosco Reale and Bosco tre Case now stand, on a site where many discoveries were made in the excavations of about the year 1861.† Pompei was used as a quarry, and its stones were taken to build the new city, which was still in existence in 471, when a fresh eruption finally destroyed it.‡

The city of Pompei was, in fact, rebuilt several times. There was the original city founded in the sixth century by the Oscans, and completed by the Samnites and the Greeks;§ the second city, partially restored by the Romans, mainly after the earthquake of the year 63; and a third city, the position of which was slightly changed. It was probably built rather farther to the north. The persistence of people in returning to

* The characters of this inscription appear to be those of the third century. (Beulé.)

† See Beulé.

‡ A map made at Constantinople at the end of the fourth century gives Pompei.

§ Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompei*. Napoli, 1875.

their former abode, in spite of its dangers, is not surprising, for carelessness of life and forgetfulness of the past, a pleasant climate and love of a country, have always proved more persuasive than reason. It is the same to-day, and Vesuvius is still the centre of populous towns and new villas. Torre del Greco has been at the mercy of every eruption, and was eleven times destroyed; yet people live there, and seem to find a pleasure in their life.

Pompei was finally abandoned by the ancients as not worth disinterring, and lay for many centuries buried, while grass, corn, vines, pines and orange-trees clothed this land of fire with verdure, and added their brilliant chords of colour to the sunlit harmony of the landscape. The aloe and the cactus took firm hold of the new soil, and life unfolded itself at every turn. The careless shepherds brought their flocks to crop the fresh herbage there; now the herdsman's song rises from the pastures, and in the evening one seems to hear the plaintive murmur of the manes of Pompei.

# V

## THE "CIVITÀ"—RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND THOSE NOW IN PROGRESS

THE very name of Pompei was more or less forgotten in time, and rarely mentioned save by scholars; the country people alone remembered it, and called the old site of the city the *Cività*. It would be difficult to say how much remained of the buildings which emerged from the bed of ashes. The destruction must have been far less complete than one would have imagined, for the lapilli that filled the town naturally strengthened the walls and consolidated their foundations, and the highest points of several buildings must have stood for a long time above the new soil; indeed, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Sannazar says that it was possible to see the towers, houses, and temples standing almost intact. This is, perhaps, an exaggeration; but, after making all due allowance for the writer's imagination, it is certain that the highest points of the theatres, arches, towers, and amphitheatre must have stood several courses above the level of the soil. The general public was long so indifferent to archæology, that these ruins attracted no notice for centuries, even when the architect Fontana dug an aqueduct in 1592 to carry the water of the Sarnus to Torre Annunziata, and in so doing crossed the city of Pompei at its widest part, from the amphitheatre to the temple of Apollo. He demolished and pierced several walls, and even found an inscription containing the words *Venus Pompeiana*, but all the cuttings were filled up, and none cared to pursue an apparently futile

investigation. After the lapse of another century, Giuseppe Macrini examined the *Cività* in 1693, but though he made some discoveries, he left things very much as he had found them.

In 1738, King Charles III., encouraged by the excavations that had been begun at Herculaneum in 1711, determined to continue the interrupted work at Resina, and also to excavate the *Cività* itself. A journal, printed in Spanish, and called the *Cava de la Cività*, reported the progress of the works, but it was generally supposed that the city that was being excavated was Stabiæ. The object of the works was not to remove the

Bronze Seals (Naples Museum)

ashes, but to find works of art for the palaces and antiquarian collections of the great nobles of the day. Hence the confusion and lack of method in the excavations can easily be imagined. Houses were looted and buried again, after they had been much damaged in the process, and walls were broken down to obtain curious pictures, or were ruined by the rough handling of the workmen, who at that time were convicts.

In 1748, some peasants who were digging a ditch struck some hard substance with their spades, and discovered articles of all kinds, and some fine statues, a tripod, and a Priapus in bronze. Again, about the year 1755, the *House of Julia Felix** was discovered, despoiled of its many art treasures, and buried again. Finally, in 1763, an inscription was found on a travertine pedestal, to the effect that T. S. Climens had restored to the "Municipium of the Pompeians" the lands encroached upon by

* Generally speaking, the names given to the houses discovered are taken from the seals or from the works of art found there, or they are named after visitors to Pompei. The *House of Julia Felix* is not marked in our map of Pompei. It has been covered up again, and is situated not far from the amphitheatre.

private persons. This inscription, found so close to others already discovered, confirmed the impression that the buried city was Pompei.

In 1764 an Italian paper appeared with an account of the new discoveries. Everything went on as usual, until the simple idea of introducing some order into the excavations began to gain ground, when it was at last understood that an entire city lay buried. General Championnet, who occupied Naples in 1799, took a great interest in Pompei, and two houses are named after him.

In 1812 and 1813, Queen Caroline continued the excavations, and visited the works in person. It was about this time that the French architect Mazois, who was much interested in Pompei, did his best to bring the city into prominence by his work. He noted, drew, and measured all that had been discovered there, and in 1822 he published in France, under royal patronage, a monumental book, full of plates, which is still a standard work. But though the works were better managed, they were not carried on altogether methodically : for example, if a house seemed to promise no new discoveries, it was left, and another was taken at hazard and investigated. It was not until 1860 that the ashes and rubbish were entirely cleared away from the houses that had been already searched and abandoned ; Fiorelli, the director of the works, spent several years on this task. He threw open Pompei to visitors, who were allowed to admire the views of the city and to walk through the streets as freely as did the original citizens of Pompei. The old beams were replaced by new ones, and the grass regularly weeded from the cracks of the paving-stones by a gang of workmen, to prevent the streets from being overrun with moss and weeds. A turnstile, where a charge is made for entrance, is placed at the entrance of the ruins, and the receipts partially defray the cost of the excavations, which will probably last for many years, for at least one-third of the city is still buried.

Although the excavations now in progress have resulted in many discoveries—for example, that of the *House of the Vettii*, and the

supposed Temple of Venus—they can add very little to what we know already. But there is always the interest of the works themselves, the curious pleasure of seeing the relics of ancient life disengaged from the earth, of handling their beautiful and delicate forms, of studying at first hand the refinement of a civilisation it is only possible to realise here, in its actual setting.

During the excavations in the *House of the Vettii*, when the ashes were being removed from the *atrium*, a strong-box, very much damaged, was found near the *prothyrum*. The box itself, which was principally made of wood, fell into dust, and the ironwork and the copper ornaments lay in a heap with the small pumice-stones that had amalgamated with the metals, producing the most charming shades of green and red. When, however, the spot was examined, in the hope of discovering valuables, it was discovered that the coffer was empty. The Pompeians had taken everything away, and not a sestertius was left. A few years ago, everything of value and all the most interesting paintings were taken from Pompei to the Naples Museum. This, though it has destroyed some of the interest of the houses, has ensured the preservation of a great deal of the decorative art of the city. We can admire it at Naples, but how captivating it would have been to see it in its proper setting, just as the people of Pompei had left it! Now, however, houses with decorations are roofed over to protect them from sun and rain, and some of the paintings are covered with glass. Marble furniture and bronze statuettes are left where they were found, and on entering some of these houses the impression of reality is so strong that one instinctively looks round for the master of the house, Pansa or Vettius, to apologise for appearing unannounced.

Pompei is a city that gains in interest as we know it better. The houses, the cool alleys, and the many byways that are almost unknown, and that the ordinary traveller never sees, grow familiar. To many people a visit to Pompei is but a change of scene; they only realise

the superficial aspect of the city; the intimate charm of Pompei remains unknown to them.

The city contains no great and almost royal palaces like those in Rome, but in this lies its peculiar charm. Here you see the normal and natural life of the ancient world, and identify yourself with the men of Pompei as you see them in their busts and portraits; you feel the grace and coquetry of the women painted on the walls; you understand and pardon the faults of their age, and acquire a taste for their graceful and frivolous art. You become sufficiently pagan to sympathise with their seductive civilisation; you look into the soul of the city and see that in the ancient world art made life, and that the love of beauty was almost a religion; you realise that the "*genre pompier*" was an invention of the seventeenth century.

# VI

## THE PLAN OF AN ANCIENT CITY—THE CITY GATES—THE WALLS AND TOWERS—AN EXCURSION ROUND POMPEI

BEFORE making a closer study of Pompei, it is perhaps necessary to give some account of the plan of the city.* M. Boissier, to whose learned work we shall often have to refer, tells us that the original inhabitants of the country, before founding a town, had the city wall first marked out, and then drew two straight lines between its extreme points: the first, called the *Cardo*, running from north to south; and the other, called the *Decumanus*, running from east to west. These were the two main streets, from which the other side-streets branched out. Each "island" (*insula*) surrounded by streets was divided at will into various houses.

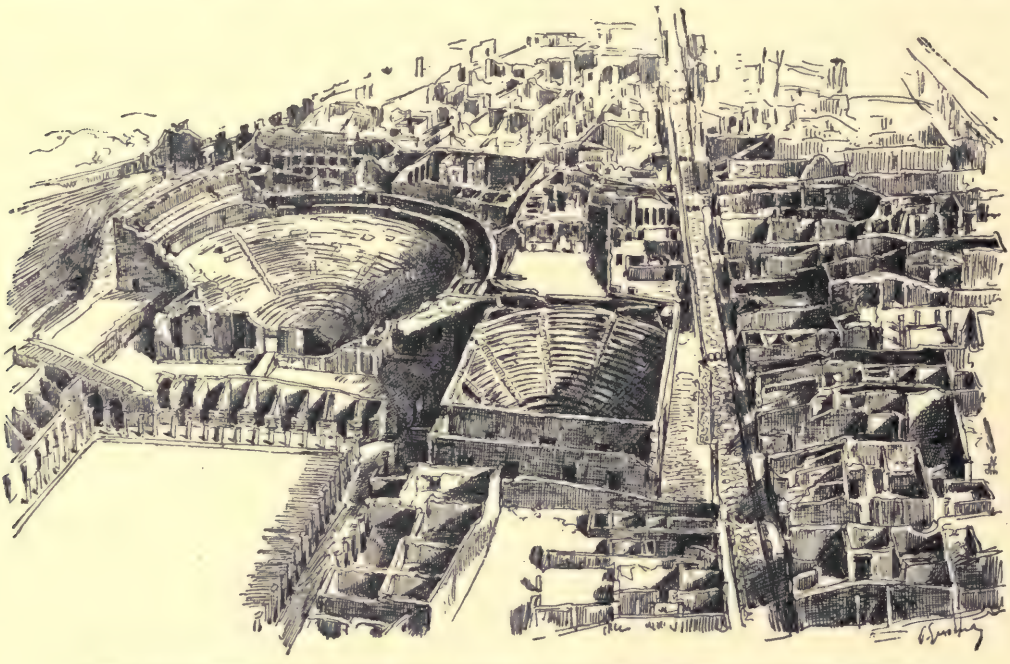
The two drawings here reproduced give a portion of the raised plan of Pompei in the museum at Naples, and show the arrangement of the two theatres, and the appearance of several *insulæ* near the Street of Mercury. The chief divisions marked out by the first inhabitants of Pompei are still in existence, for the main lines of the city have not changed. When the population increased, parts of the gardens surrounding the houses, forming what was called the *hæredium*, cultivated by the household, were absorbed.

Of the nine districts of Pompei, three have been completely excavated and three partially so; the rest are as yet untouched.† In order to form

* Boissier, *Promenades archéologiques.*

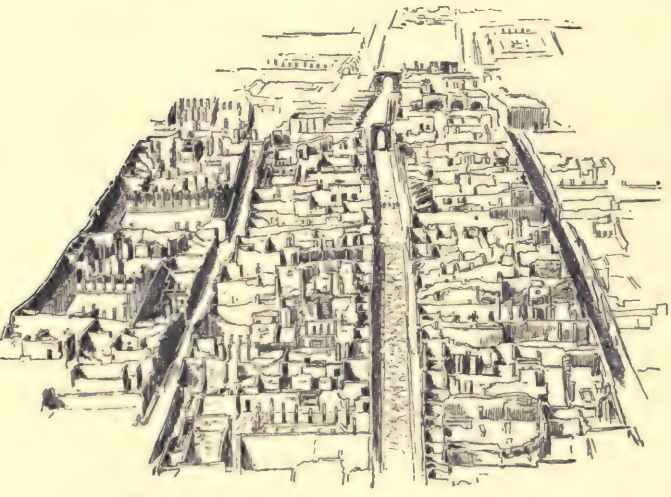
† The city is an irregular oval in shape, extending from east to west, and its fortifications extend for 2843 yards round the city.

some idea of the extent of the city and its general appearance, we will examine Pompei from the outside, and so get a better view of the walls,



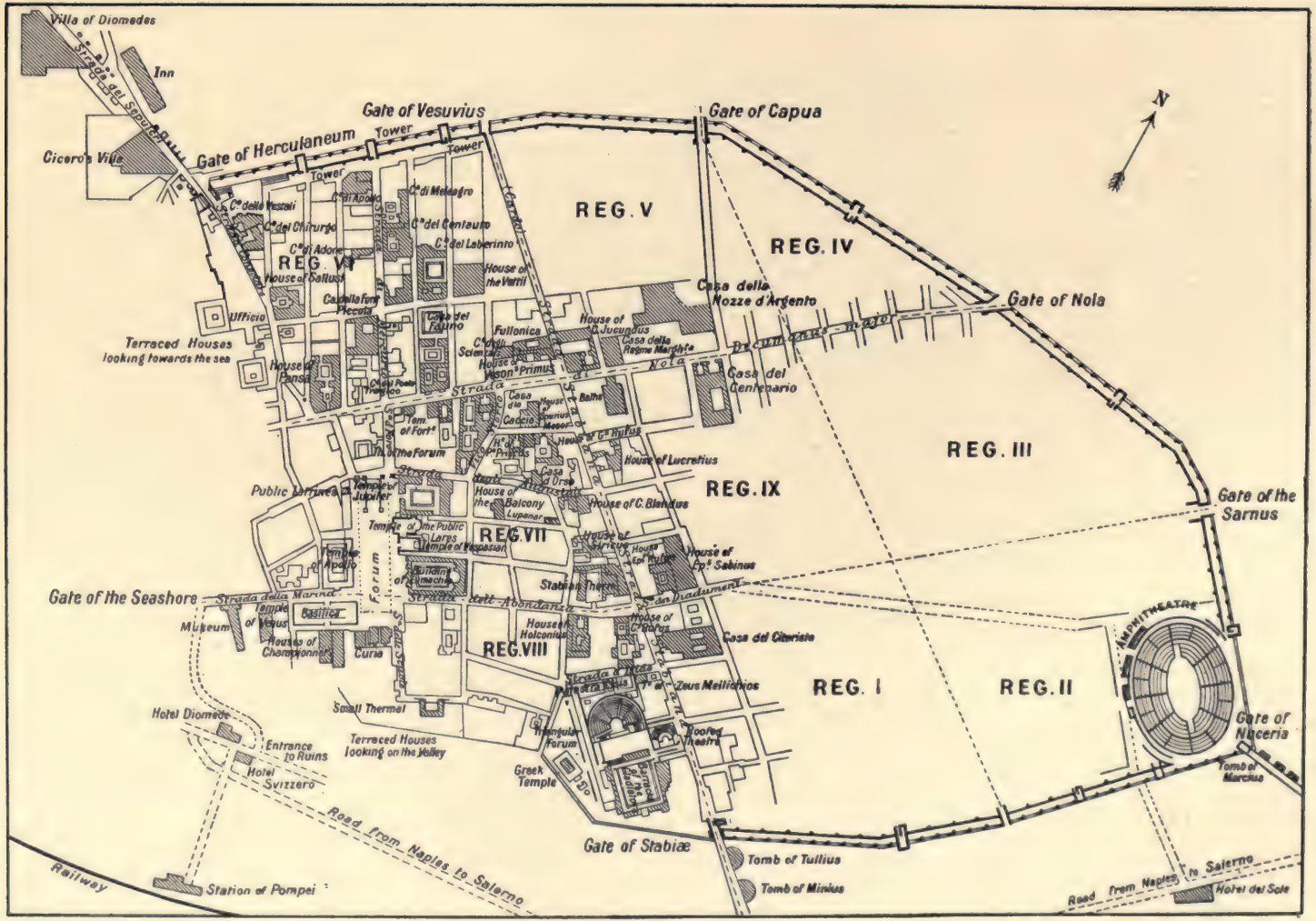
View of the Theatres and the neighbouring Buildings (from the raised map in the Naples Museum)

towers and gates, and some of the finest sites of the town. There were at least eight gates in the walls, corresponding to as many main roads, leading generally to small towns in the neighbourhood, and called after their names. They were: the Gate of the Seashore (*Porta Marina*), and the Gates of Stabiæ, Nuceria, Sarnus, Nola, Capua, Vesuvius, and Herculaneum. Only the Gate of the Seashore and the Gates of Nola and Herculaneum are entirely excavated.



The Street of Mercury and some Insulæ (from the raised map in the Naples Museum)

The Gate of the Seashore, now approached by a path cut through the ashes, and shaded by acacias, takes its name from the neighbouring sea,




Plan of Pompei

and was probably placed under the ægis of Minerva, whose statue in terra-cotta once stood in a niche by the entrance, where a golden votive lamp used to burn. This gate has only one entrance, a long archway, the floor of which is partly paved and rises to a considerable height above the soil,

The Gate of the Seashore (*Porta Marina*).

so that carriages could not enter it. The gate was closed by wooden folding-doors and by an iron grating. Within the porch there opened out large vaulted rooms which must have once served as warehouses. An old archway, paved with polygonal stones, that formerly led to these store-houses, has been hidden again under heaps of scoriæ from the excavations of 1817.* The city walls at this point follow the line of the important road,

* Fiorelli.

which can be still distinctly seen in places, and the houses have encroached on the old fortifications, which had become unnecessary under the Roman rule. All the south slope, on which part of the city lies, was covered by picturesque buildings situated on many terraces, and rising in stages like an amphitheatre. The view from many of these houses over the sea and

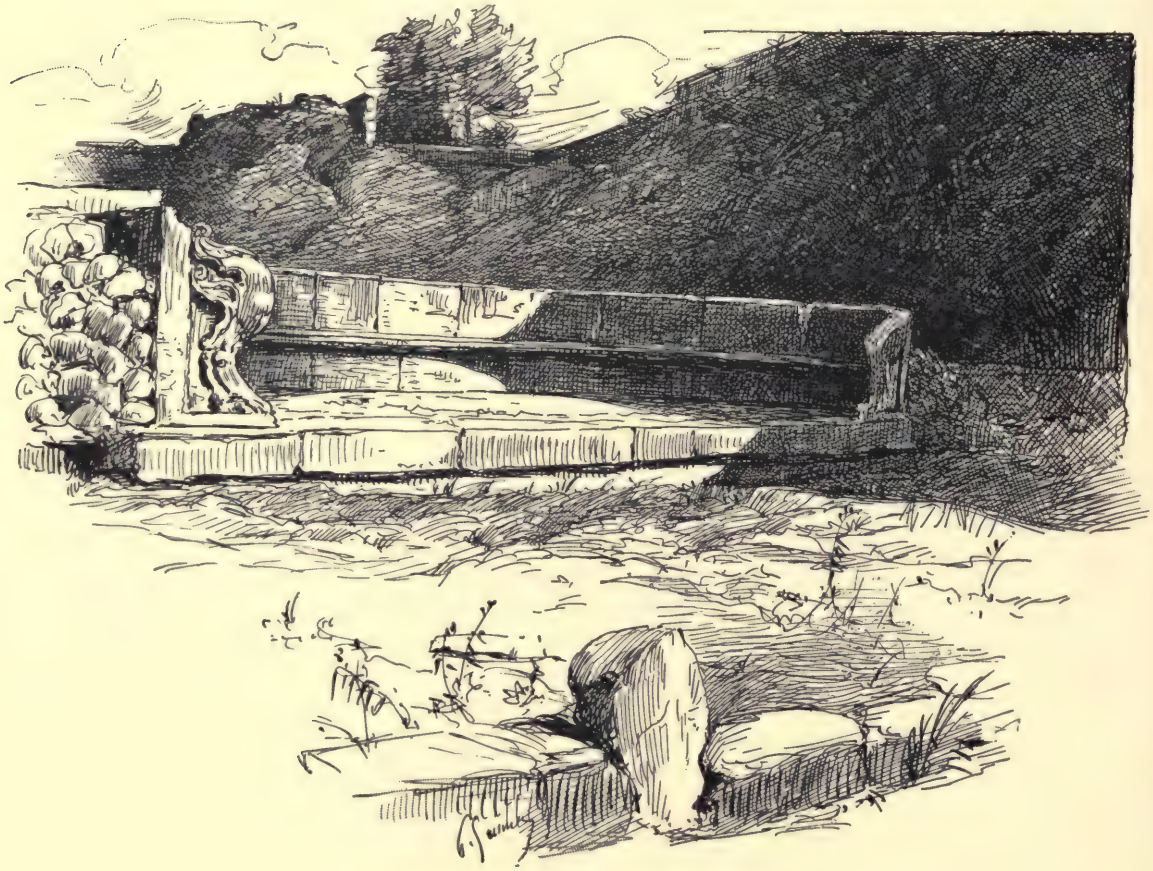
The Gate of Stabiæ* (from the inside)

country is exceedingly beautiful. From the present road leading to Salerno the city presents a curious appearance, and its outline against the sky reminds one of a mediæval stronghold.

A little farther on the view opens out, and the Triangular Forum (the *Agora* of the Greek period, and the Acropolis of Pompei) forms its most beautiful natural terrace. A semicircular bench stands by the side of the wall, and behind it there is a temple, said to be the Temple of Hercules, of which only five steps and some few capitals remain. Next, part of the great theatre

* See also the coloured plate, No. II. (The Gate of Stabiæ, from the outside).

comes in sight, and some columns of the old portico rise lightly into the air. The roots of the aloes and cacti have strengthened the soil of ashes, which is now green with springing grass, that turns golden in the warm light of the setting sun at evening. In the background lie the blue



The Exedra of the Gate of Stabiæ

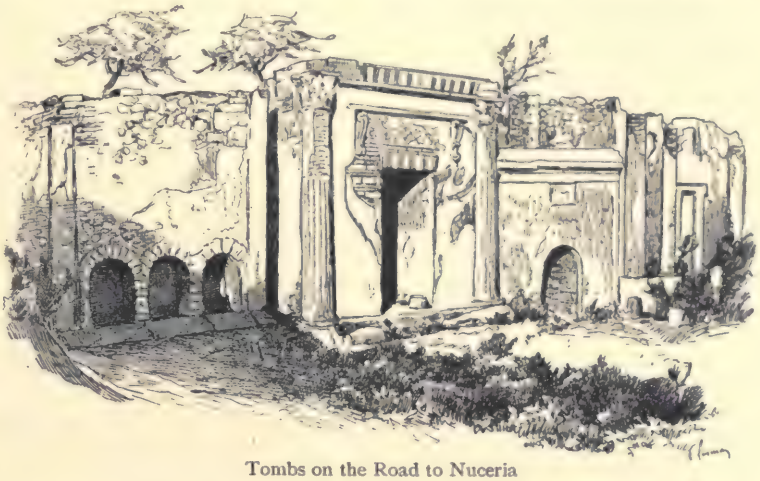
slopes of Vesuvius, where the smoke is always rising, twisting, moving upwards in a thin column, and melting into the clouds.

A little farther on the Gate of Stabiæ is reached. Under the porch there is a cippus of Samnite work, with an inscription giving the names of the ædiles who were responsible for the paving of the Stabian Way, a road that was much in use, judging by the well-worn flags beneath the archway. Drivers of cars (*cisarii*) halted here and watered their mules at the ruined fountain against the wall. On the left, to one side, a flight of steps leads to

THE STABIAN GATE

THE STREET OF STABIES

the ramparts, which command a wide view over the city and Vesuvius. The numerous houses on either side of the street, built on exactly the same plan, were not rich men's houses. In one of these, a house rented by a certain Marcus Suras, a native of Caracenum, and a rower in the fleet at Misenum which Pliny commanded, there was found a copy of an imperial decree, naturalising him and his fellows as Roman citizens after twenty-six years of military service.



Tombs on the Road to Nuceria

Two fine seats, or exedræ, sheltering the tombs of Tullius and Minius, are pleasantly situated near the gate, outside the city, in full view of the valley of the Sarnus. There men sat and passed the time in talk, waiting for friends who were late in coming, as the heavy-laden carts passed by them, bringing wealth and luxury into the city, while in the distance, in the silence of the country, could be heard the regular beat of the hoofs of driven mules and the tinkling of their bells. The burying-places lie farther on, by the roadside ; and in the country towards Stabiæ, on a level with the old soil, terra-cotta urns full of calcined bones, glass *ampullæ*, and coins are often found.

Farther on we can see the amphitheatre situated on lower ground. This was the first building discovered ; and hard by is the Gate of Nuceria, which has not yet been excavated, though beyond the gate the ground has been examined by Signor Pacifico, the present owner of this part of the old road, who found there stucco tombs, ornamented with rough-hewn stone statues of an extremely archaic character. The places of burial here are not at all like those more famous ones in the Way of Tombs ;

these have quite an Egyptian character: one of them is erected to a member of the Mancius family, with the inscription

P·MANCI·P·L·DIOGENI
EX·TESTAMENTO ARBRITRATV
MANCIAE·P·L·DORINIS

If we turn from the country towards the city again, we can see that a great deal of the area has not yet been excavated, and that the level of the

The Gate of Nola, or of Isis (from the inside)

soil has been further raised by heaps of old scoriæ. At this point we get the finest panorama of the country round. To the left lies the far-off sea, and we can catch glimpses at various points of the beautiful Isle of Capri. In the centre lies the irregular mass of Pompei, and on the right the sombre mountain of Vesuvius* stands like an enemy over against the city. The fairest landscape rejoices the eye that wanders over the luminous expanse. Thin-stemmed pines raise their graceful shafts, crowned with dark-green foliage, and in spring the dull russet boughs of the fruit-trees are studded over with pink and white stars. The cool green fields of springing corn

* In the drawings in this book in which Vesuvius occurs, the different views of the smoke are drawn from nature; indeed, all the illustrations are exact reproductions of actual scenes, and not imaginary views of them.

and flowering lentils give repose to the eye, and the vivid white of the few modern houses adds its gay note to the shifting harmony of the mountain-side, that changes from blue to rose and from violet to gold with the changing sun. It is a land where the scent of the sea blends with the breath of the fields amidst scenes so enchanting that the soul pays an equal tribute to art and to nature. What landscape could more fitly inspire another Theocritus!

Oscan Inscription, and Head of Isis (after De Clarac)

In the evening the same land and sea are transformed. The deep purple sky dyes the soft slopes of the mountains of Sorrento with warm mists ranging from violet to velvety gold, and the Isle of Capri, set in a ring of fire, seems to pass away in apotheosis. The sea, pale red or metallic blue, shows dark against the level line of the horizon, where the white sails of boats, like open-winged birds, stoop as if to caress the water. Silence falls over all; the long shadows disappear, and a dim shade creeps up over the city, indistinguishable in the faded purple of the twilight.

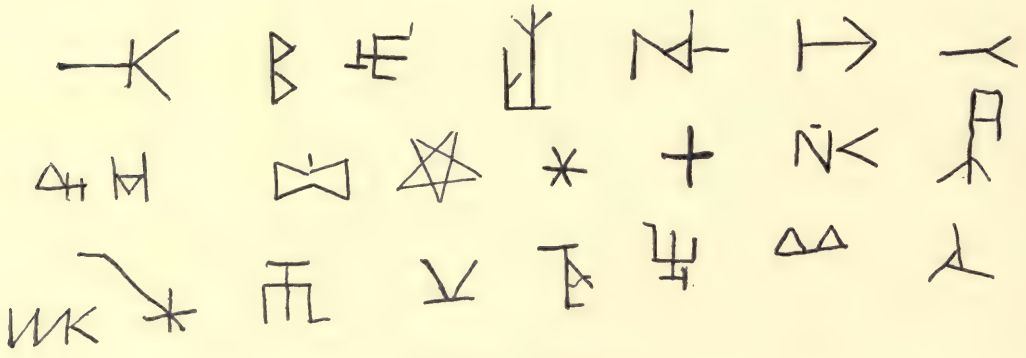
Let us return to the east, to the Gate of Nola or of Isis, near the amphitheatre. This, too, is vaulted, and the keystone is ornamented with a rude carving supposed to represent the head of the Egyptian goddess Isis. Her long hair falls on her shoulders, and she seems to be wearing a crown. On one side is a marble tablet with the Oscan inscription here reproduced,

C · POPIDIVS · C
ME · TVC · AAMANA PH PHED
ISIDY · PRVPHATTED

which De Clarac translates as follows: *Caius Popidius Caii filius medixtucticus restituit et Isidi consecravit.*

The post of *medixtucticus* was the first municipal office among the

Oscans, and the family of Popidius, whose name occurs several times in inscriptions, seems to have practised a devout cult of Isis. Some writers are of opinion that the inscription was placed on this part of the gate when it was rebuilt in the Roman period ; but, on the other hand, the walls close by are extremely old, and are certainly Oscan ; many curious marks are cut in the stone,* and some of these signs resemble certain characters of the old Greek alphabet. All the specimens reproduced here are cut in tufa, or in hard lava, materials which were used for the older buildings, for curbstones, and for paving-stones. The stones of the lower courses are trapezoid in



Oscan Lapidary Marks

form, while the upper portion of the walls is ashlar, the joints of one course resting on the centres of the stones below.

Farther on, in the direction of the Gate of Herculaneum, the fortifications † are in a good state of preservation, and bristle with square towers, built by the Romans, of small, rough-hewn stones. From this point we can form a very clear notion of the arrangement of the ramparts, which consisted of a terraced platform, supported on either side by a wall of freestone, with a surface fifteen feet four inches in depth. The outer wall must have been twenty-six feet three inches in height, and the inner wall about thirty-six feet. The towers, which served as posterns, stand at equal distances from each other, and contained several floors : (1) the postern proper, which was

* See Marriott, *Facts about Pompei.* (London : Watson & Viney.) Several of these marks are found cut in the stones of cathedrals of the Middle Ages.

† Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompéi.*

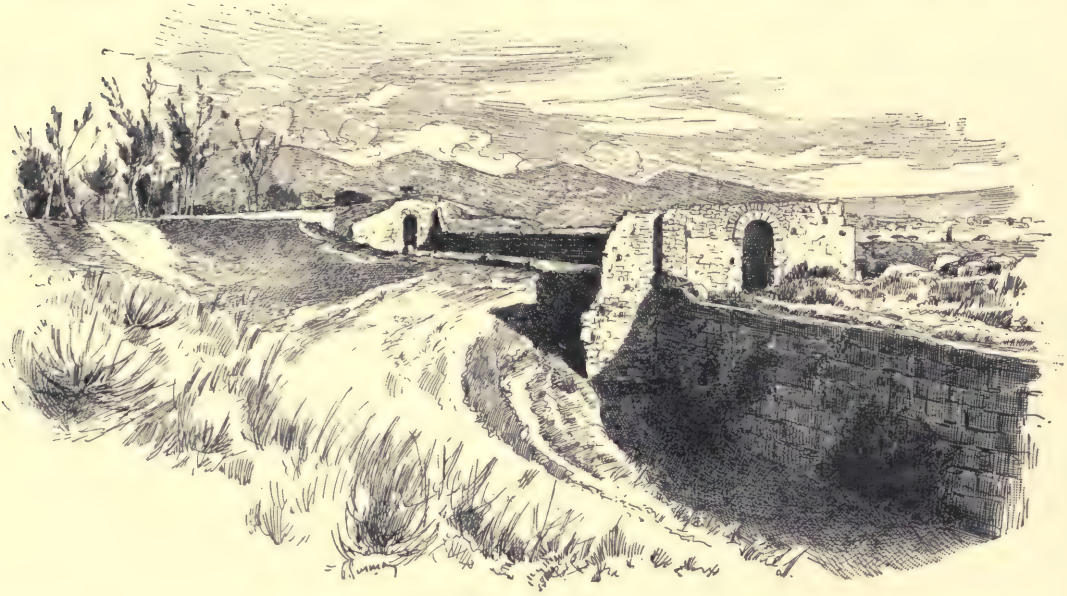
used as a gate; here the stairs began which led to the platform and the upper storey; (2) a vaulted storey on a level with the ramparts, pierced with loopholes; (3) the upper crenelated platform. Many breaches were made in the walls of the city in the various sieges of Pompei, and under the

The Walls and the Towers

Roman rule the towers were dismantled, and the fortifications must have been allowed to fall into ruins.

At this point the site of the city is magnificent. We hover, as it were, over Pompei, and see the cloud-capped peaks of the Abruzzi blended in the hazy distance. The mountains of Sorrento bow their heads towards Capri, and the sea, bright as a lake of silver, flashes in brilliant contrast to the massive and sombre masonry of the Oscan walls and the towers.

Still following the ramparts, we reach the Gate of Herculaneum, which looks out over the Way of Tombs. This gate once had three arches, but the



The Walls and the Towers

central arch, the entrance for chariots, formerly closed by a portcullis the grooves of which are still visible, no longer exists. The lateral passages

The Gate of Herculaneum

were closed by doors ; the pivots are still in their places. This entrance to the town was naturally the most frequented, for it opened on the high-road to Herculaneum and Rome, and was a connecting-link between

the *Pagus Augustus Felix* and Pompei. It was less rough and massive than the other gates of the city, and was built of ashlar and bricks by the

View from inside the Gate of Herculaneum

Romans, and cased in white stucco. Its outer wall was used as the *album*, on which were written the notices and regulations of the magistrates. It is not without a certain elegance, and simulates a triumphal arch, opening on to the Way of Tombs.

# PART II

## THE TOMBS, THE TEMPLES AND THE VARIOUS CULTS

# I

## THE WAY OF TOMBS AND CICERO'S VILLA

FROM the Gate of Herculaneum stretches the Way of Tombs, bordered by monuments to the dead, like the Appian Way beyond Rome. There the people of Pompei built mausoleums to the memory of those who had held great public offices and had earned their gratitude. Among these are many more modest monuments, for by the ancients lack of sepulture was dreaded more than death itself, and was supposed to entail an after-life of eternal torment.* We find here tombs of pure white marble covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions to commemorate the names of Marcus Cerinius, an *Augustalis*, and of Aulus Veius, son of Marcus, judge and duumvir, quinquennalis and military tribune, elected by the people by decree of the decurions. Another tomb is a monument to Mamia, a public priestess ; in front is a semicircular seat, on the back of which is the inscription :

MAMIAE · P · F · SACERDOTI · PVBLICAE · LOCVS
SEPVLTVR · DATVS · DECVRIONVM · DECRETO

There is a glorious view from the platform of this exedra. The bare pine-stems with their heavy crowns of foliage stand out within a framework of green trees flecked with russet and gold ; in the distance is the Cape of Sorrento, where the sea winds, like an azure ribbon, to Castellamare, the Stabiæ of the ancients, and the cool and misty tones of the morning

* Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique.*

veil the delicate detail of this divine landscape, the fair region sung by so many poets, enamoured of its ideal beauty.

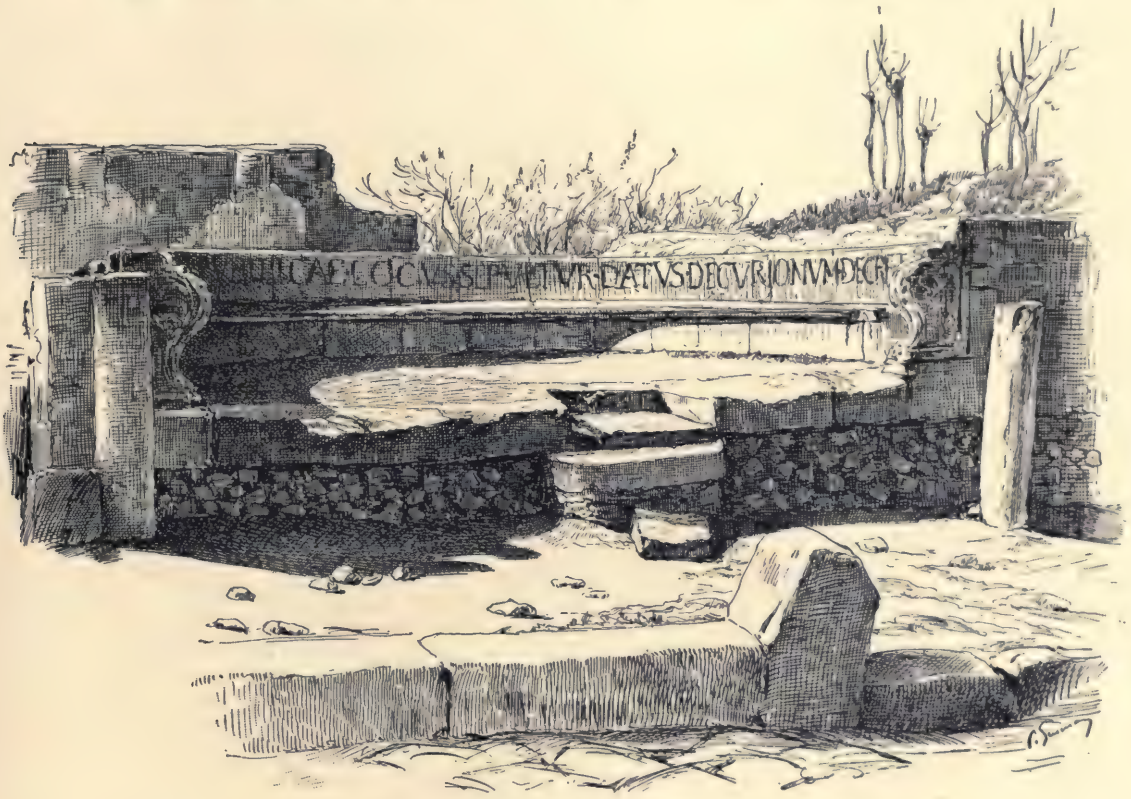
From this favoured point of vantage let us turn to the massive tombs sleeping under the shadow of sombre cypresses with bowed heads. The sun caresses them, flooding them with warm light and bringing out the carved ornament of the reliefs.

The Way of Tombs

This street of the dead is not gloomy; the mind of the spectator is touched by no sense of melancholy; a vague sympathy, and even a gentle reverie, steal over him at the sight of the rich monuments which shelter but a little dust, sole remnant of a sumptuous past.

Burial here was the apotheosis of lives which were thus publicly commemorated by impressive epitaphs. To one man, Umbricius Scaurus, son of Aulus, of the Menenian tribe, who had been a duumvir of justice, the decurions granted a piece of ground on which to erect a monument, and two thousand

sesterces were spent on his funeral and in setting up his equestrian statue in the Forum. Bas-reliefs of stucco, representing a combat of gladiators held at the time of his funeral, ornament the base of his tomb.* Farther on is a tomb erected by Servilia to her husband, whom she calls "*the friend of her soul*"; and we also read the name of Calventius Quietus, an *Augustalis*, to whom the honour of a *bisellium* had been granted.† This



The Exedra of Mamia's Tomb

chair of office was also awarded to Caius Munatius Faustus, an *Augustalis* and a *paganus*, whose tomb was raised by the efforts of his freedwoman, Tyche Nevoleia, and served also to commemorate herself and her fellow-freedmen. In this tomb were found three glass urns in leaden cases, containing bones and ashes mingled with a liquid from the funeral libations, composed of wine, oil, and water. The *columbarium* was filled with other

* See Part III.

† The *bisellium* was, in the municipia, the curule chair of the magistrates.

earthenware urns, also containing human ashes, and with lamps. The sculptured head in relief is a portrait of Tyche, and the sailing-vessel carved

Tomb of Servilia

on one side of the tomb may be an allusion to the profession of C. Munatius Faustus, but is more probably a symbol of human life and its vicissitudes: man, buffeted by the waves, comes at last to port, furls his sails, and enters into eternal rest. In Petronius* we read how Trimalchio gave orders to

* *Sat.* lxxi.

his statuary to carve on his tomb a vessel in full sail—a proof that the

Epitaph of Calventius Quietus

symbol of the ship was used in this sense,* but as Trimalchio is speaking

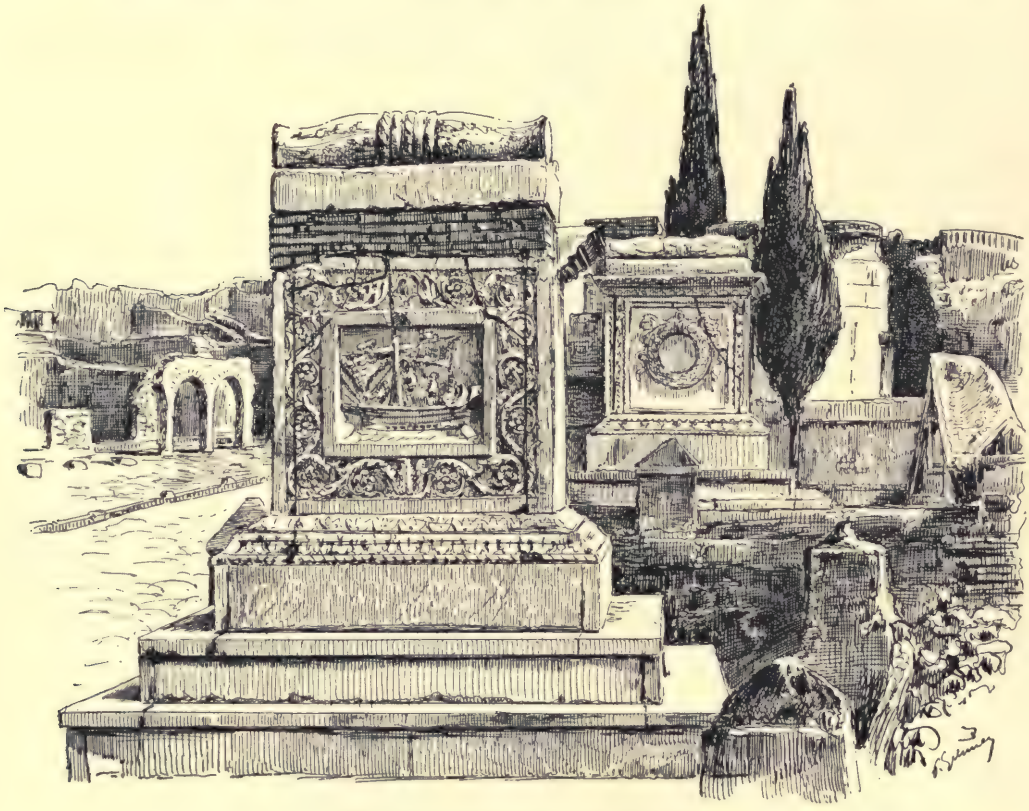
Epitaph of Tyche

after a long debauch, it is natural that in his gay intoxication he should ask for "spreading sails," an image of his careless epicureanism.

* There is a tombstone in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, on which the same symbol occurs.

Beside the monuments of Tyche and Caius Munatius stands a memorial triclinium, where the freedman Callistus, on the death of his master Cneus Vibrius Saturninus, assembled the dead man's kinsfolk and friends at a funeral banquet in memory of him.

On the other side of the street is the burial-place of Diomedes, head of



Tombs of Tyche and Calventius Quietus

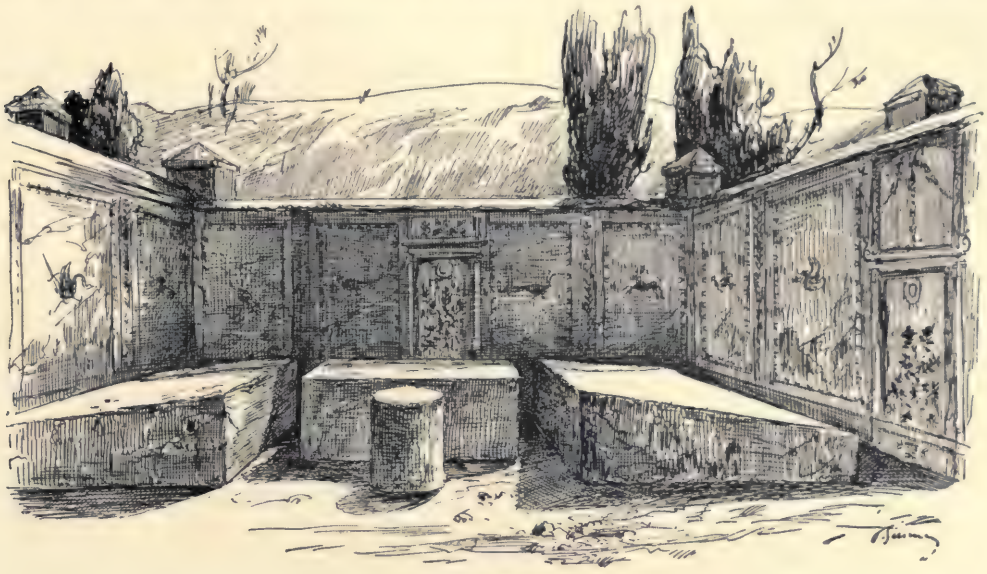
the *Pagus Augustus Felix;* his villa, which we shall notice later on, stands opposite.

Another Tyche had a sepulchral cippus, on which we read the inscription: "To the genius * (*junoni*) of Tyche, *veneria* of Julia, daughter of Augustus"—a strange office that was not considered dishonourable at that time, for Tacitus declares that Petronius was supposed to have held a similar position at Nero's court.

Cippi of tufa are very numerous at Pompei, and in the country it is by

* The *genius* of women was called the *Juno*.

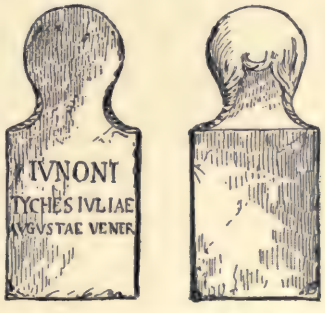
no means unusual to find that they have been dug up by tillers of the soil, who have used them as landmarks for their plots of ground. The upper portions of these memorial-stones are always rounded, and often hemispherical



Memorial Triclinium

in shape, imitating a human head; those that have plaits and tresses carved on them mark the grave of a woman. The poorer Pompeians who did not belong to any burial society had to be content with this simple stone.*

The *columbarium*, a very costly construction, was reserved for the members of one family, or society, or for the fellow-worshippers of the same divinity. Those who had shared in certain rites in their lifetime could not endure the thought that after death they should not be reunited in one place, for they believed in a life beyond the grave. Thus the urns contain coins to pay Charon, the ferryman, the price of passage in his infernal boat; and the libations poured on the tombs at funeral feasts were intended to associate the dead themselves with the banqueters by offering them a portion of the food.




Tomb of the second Tyche

* Similar cippi are found in Moslem and Israelitish cemeteries.

Another curious tomb, the marble facing of which has disappeared, shows its square bricks arranged in horizontal courses and in *opus reticulatum*. The door of the tomb, with the pivots, is carved out of one solid block of marble, and is closed by a bolt which shoots into a square groove in the jamb. The interior of the tomb is like a *columbarium*, and is entered by two high steps. The roof is vaulted and the room is lighted by an air-

The Tomb with the marble Door

hole opposite the door, above a large niche surmounted by a pediment of tufa. Oriental alabaster vases were found here, a ring set with an engraved agate, a marble vase containing bones, and several amphoræ. This tomb has a certain importance, but is without inscriptions: it was probably used to store the urns containing the ashes of the dead who had just been burned at the *ustrinum* hard by, until the tomb that was to receive them had been built.

In this neighbourhood some tombs decorated with statues were found, and Samnite tombs were discovered in 1873, full of painted vases and coins,

attributed to a Campanian city (Irnum).* Potters' shops and furnaces, a villa from which the fine mosaic columns in the Naples Museum are taken, and an inn also lay a little back from the Way of Tombs. Not far away, in an *atrium*, was found a *sacellum* dedicated to Hercules; also an altar with a bas-relief representing a man with Hercules' club, and with a cock by his side, sacrificing a pig, and holding a bowl.

Interior of the Tomb with the marble Door

The Ustrinum

On the way back to Pompei there is a covered *exedra*, decorated with paintings. Beside it is the tomb known as the *Tomb of the Garlands*, where the famous amphora of blue and white glass, representing Cupids as vintagers,† was found. The artistic value of this vase is so great that the calcined bones it contains are, doubtless, the remains of some rich Pompeian.

Behind the provisional

* Fiorelli, *op. cit.*

† See Part VI. iv. 3.

*columbarium* stands the *ustrinum* that has caused so much discussion. Only the four walls of this building remain ; in one of these there is an opening. Some prefer to consider it a *sacellum*, but as the dead were burnt and their ashes are found, there must have been a place where they were cremated ; and as this building and the *columbarium* with

The Covered Exedra

the marble door form an isolated block, it is possible that these four walls formed part of the *ustrinum*, the destination of funeral processions.

Our knowledge of ancient burial-places, supplemented by the descriptions of classic writers, enables us to form an exact idea of the funeral customs of the Romans. When a man lay at the point of death his relations came to his side and kissed him on the mouth as if to receive his last thoughts in his dying breath. After the farewells, often very clamorous, were over, the corpse was washed in warm water and anointed with perfumed oil. The dead man then lay in state on a bed in the *atrium*, dressed

in his robes and insignia, with his head bare and turned towards the *prothyrum* (entrance), the smoke of incense rising round him. In the street boughs of cypress placed in the doorway gave warning to the passers-by of the approaching funeral. Then, often after an interval of seven days in the case of rich men, the corpse was carried to the pyre with great ceremony. The *tibicenes* led the way, the muffled notes of their flutes rising in plaintive dirges. Professional mourners followed, simulating grief, and pro-

The Way of Tombs

claiming the virtues of the dead: next came the portraits of deceased's ancestors, who were thus associated with the ceremony. Parvenus of mean descent had a series of imaginary portraits made for them Last in the train followed the relations, friends, and freedmen, and when the procession had passed through the Forum in honour of the dead it halted at the *ustrinum*, where the pyre was built: a near relation set fire to it with averted face; the rest called on the spirit of the dead man with loud cries. Finally the ashes were gathered up, sprinkled with milk and wine, and placed in an urn, which was afterwards enclosed in a tomb. Each mourner then said farewell to the spirit who was now a dweller in the

shades, saying: "May the earth lie lightly on you! Farewell, pure soul! May your tomb be covered with roses!" and so on—a veritable litany of tender and graceful wishes. Eight days after these rites the friends of the dead man came to the tomb to a funeral meal composed of water, warm milk and honey, oil, the blood of sacrificed animals, and little shells filled with half an egg.*

The site of the Way of Tombs, in which these funeral ceremonies took place, was one of the finest in the city, and hence many fine properties of wealthy citizens were found here, as, for example, the large villa looking on a little alley close to the tomb of Mamia, where baths, some beautiful paintings of satyrs, *funambuli*, and centaurs, and some mosaics, were found.

There has been some discussion about the name of this building. Some call it the house of Crassus Frugi, and others say that it must have been the villa of Cicero, who died more than a century before the destruction of Pompei. It is possible that both are right, for the last owner of the villa may have been one Crassus Frugi, as an inscription seems to prove. If we refer to the evidence of Cicero himself, we find he says: "I am here in a very pleasant place, and, what is more, a very quiet one; a man who is writing is safe from interruption here . . . my house may be seen from Baiæ or Misenum." Again he writes: "I wonder how far the eye can reach without playing one false? I can see Catullus' estate at Cumæ from here, but I cannot see my own at Pompei. There is no obstacle in the way, but my sight does not reach so far."

The villas in the *Pagus Augustus Felix* looked out on the sea, and were thus free from noise; and Cicero's villa must have been situated in that part of the town, since he could see it from Baiæ. Moreover, the situation is admirable and the view wonderfully beautiful. The mountains lying on the waters of the bay—"*la croupe voluptueuse, comme des hanche de femme*," as Gautier describes them—present an ever-changing aspect, and the waves,

* Juvenal.

breaking into surf, send inland the salt savour of the sea, covering the Isoletta di Rivigliano with a cloud of spray, for the island rock is at constant war with the sea. In the distance it shows like a buoy for the coast, a small dark blot on the waters, its sombre note accentuating the bright beauty of the enchantress Capri.

# II

## VENUS PHYSICA, THE PATRONESS OF POMPEI—THE WORSHIP OF VENUS, AND HER TEMPLE

IN that fair country where all invites to pleasure and delights the eye, it is not surprising that Venus should have chosen for her domain Pompei the delectable.

Venus, it seems, was the patroness of Pompei. Not only was the Roman colony named *Colonia Veneria Cornelia*,* but the *graffiti* found on the walls of the city allude to the fact.

CANDIDA ME DOCVIT NIGRAS
ODISSE PVELLAS · ODERO · SEPOTERO · SED NON INVITVS
AMABO
SCRIPSIT VENVS · FISICA · POMPEIANA.†

"A fair girl has taught me to hate dark women.

"I will hate them if I can, but I will not love them against my will."

According to some authorities, the second part of the inscription was written by another hand, in answer to the first hexameter, and should be read: "*Oderis sed iteras . . . non invitus amabo.*" This may be rendered:

* The name given to the colony was derived, according to some distinguished archæologists, from the name borne by Sylla, who colonised Pompei: *Epaphroditus*, in honour of Venus-Fortuna.

† Corp. insc. pomp. 1520. A *graffito* found in 1845 in a lupanar. The answer is, therefore, easily understood. The two lines are variations on two lines of Propertius and Ovid:

*Donec me docuit castas odisse puellas* (Prop. *Eleg.* I. 1, 5).

*Odero, si potero; si non, invitus amabo* (Ovid, *Amor.* III.).

"You hate them, but you will return to them." Signed: "Venus Physica of Pompei."

Another inscription, apparently earlier, recommends a candidate for office, and concludes with an invocation to the Venus of Pompei:

N · BARCHA II · V · V · BO · VFITA · VOBEIS
VENUS · POMP · SACRA · · · ·*

Again, there is another inscription which also proves the existence of the worship of Venus Physica: †

IMPERIO · VENERIS · FISICAE
I · O · M ·
ANTISTA · METHE · ANTISTI
PRIMIGENI
EX · D · D

This cult of Venus was the worship of Woman, the cult of grace personified. The sorceress of Pompei, "with her violet eyelids," was ruler of this country by right of her feline vigour, her Alexandrian refinement, and her Campanian charm. She received all sensual homage with unfailing favour, and the worship of Venus Physica by wealthy Romans knew no bounds in their debauches at Pompei, where every new excess was hailed as another triumph of the goddess. Hence Venus Physica became at Pompei the outward symbol of the exaltation of the very sense of love, and we must accept this cult in its true pagan significance, as the feminine expression of the generative principle deified. Of all the forces of nature, procreation, as the very origin of life, was most calculated to impress the pagan imagination; and it was rational to adore the causes of such great effects. But such a principle inevitably gave rise to excesses by letting loose in men all the elements of passion, when their senses were

* Corp. insc. pomp. 26.

† *Orelli*, p. 282, n. 4370. Other inscriptions recorded in the first book mention the name of Venus and Pompei.

over-stimulated by pleasure. The Epicurean poet Lucretius throws some light on the subject of Venus Physica when he writes: *

"The desire of generation is only roused by sight of the human form, and triumphs only at the very seat of love. . . . Passion is only the foretaste and presentiment of pleasure. Such is our Venus, such the origin of the name of Love!"

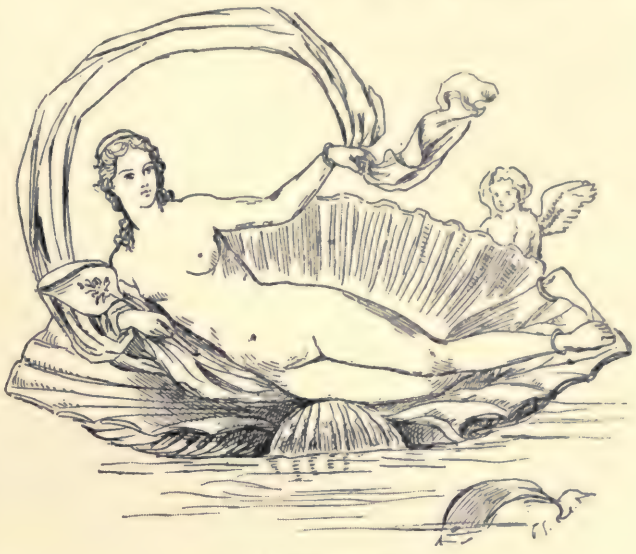
Such were the sentiments embodied in the Venus Physica, beautiful, voluptuous, insatiable, and logically sterile; the most frenzied expression of passion.

The walls of Pompei are very instructive on this head, and the emblems that are found in so many houses and public places to ward off the evil eye, are sufficient evidence of the worship of Venus Physica. All the various cults of the goddess bore more or less the impress of the same ideas, and the dissolute manners of the age, combined with the characteristic tendencies of the Pompeians, made the city another Paphos, a city of pleasure *par excellence*, where beauty of surroundings was enhanced by a delicious climate.

Although the people of Pompei all joined in one common worship of Venus, we can see, from the pictures and sculptures in the city, that Venus was honoured under many different aspects. Besides the Venus Pandemos, to whom the *scratiæ* used to offer a white kid,† there was Aphrodite, the mistress of Mercury, and mother of Hermaphroditus, who is frequently represented in the art of Pompei. Then there was the Marine Venus, born from a divine seed adrift on the sea; Venus, the daughter of Jupiter and Dioné, the mistress of Mars and wife of Vulcan, was also worshipped; and again, the Phœnician Astarte, the lover of Adonis, who was confused with Isis, and had many analogies with the Syrian goddess beloved of Atys. In addition to all these popular aspects of the goddess, we meet with an ideal type, Venus Urania, or the Heavenly Venus, daughter of the sky and light, the protectress of noble love.‡

* Lucretius, chapter iv. † Lucian, *Dialogue of Courtesans.* ‡ Apuleius, *Apology of Plato.*

Until 1898 no temple had been identified with that of the patroness of Pompei, but in the course of the excavations of that year a sanctuary was found that, for various reasons, we may suppose to have been dedicated to Venus, although no definite object relating to a special cult has been discovered. A woman's head of Alexandrian porcelain of a greenish colour, and also the fragments of a marble statuette, many of the details of which recall the *Bathing Venus* inspired by the Aphrodite of Cnidos, were, however, found here.

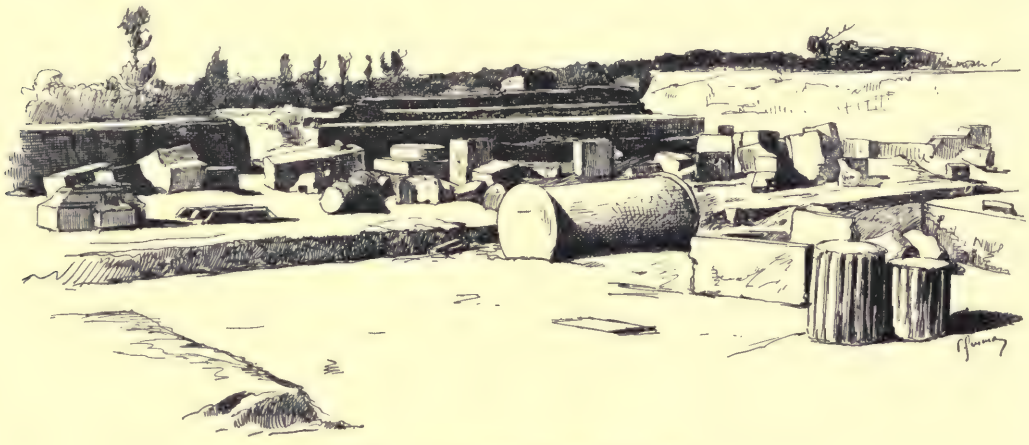


The Marine Venus

The Venus of Pompei
(From a Painting in the Casa di Castore e Polluce)

From the *cella* of this temple, which stands near the sea, could be heard the sound of the waves, which recalled the birth of the goddess. Two Epigrams in the Greek Anthology refer to this: "This precinct is Venus' own, for it is her pleasure at all times to see the shore of the flashing sea. And about the place the sea is full of reverent fear at the sight of the goddess' statue." Again: "Posthumus, O Cytheræa, has built thee this temple washed by the sea where thou wert born, and around thee plays the sea that covers thee with its foam at the breath of the west winds."

The Temple of Venus, therefore, must have been built as near the sea as possible, and the only place where we may now look for it is, in fact, the site of the new discovery, between the Basilica and the Gate of the Seashore. Finally, a picture which is still to be seen in a house in the city, just opposite the temple, shows Venus* landing on the beach of Pompei, borne by a Triton and supported by Love. The goddess, who has a blue nimbus round her head, holds a golden sceptre, sign of her sovereignty; a woman, personifying the city, presents offerings laid on a flower-wreathed



Ruins of the supposed Temple of Venus

altar. The sea bounds the horizon of the picture, and above it is painted a warm and glowing sky.

The temple itself was destroyed by the earthquake of the year 63, and was in process of reconstruction at the time of the eruption, so there remains nothing but the *podium*, and some fragments of the walls of the *cella*; the pedestal that once supported the statue of the goddess stands bare and solitary. All round lie scattered great blocks of travertine brought to be hewn, fluted columns, marble capitals, and fragments of denticulated friezes, as sharp and clear-cut as if they had just come from the workmen's hands. The proposed restoration would have enlarged the *podium*, where the additional courses show that a change was to be made in the posterior façade; the front of the temple, on the other hand, had been reduced in

* See coloured plate, No. I.

size by a cutting which would have done away with a large portion of it. The slabs of white marble, with the bronze pivots on which the doors were to turn, are in place, and do not appear to have been used. From the *cella* the sea can be seen, and the temple looks towards Stabiæ, where the bay curves into the coast.

An Offering to Venus (A Painting)

A single column, very short and thick, lies in the sort of workshop into which the space about the temple had been converted. Beside it are an unfinished base and a capital of the same diameter (the latter barely began), waiting to be put into position. Perhaps this column was the pedestal for a large statue of the goddess. Venus would then have looked out over the sea, and sailors would have invoked her as they entered the harbour. This ancient temple had a large rectangular *peribolus*—a sacred precinct surrounded by a portico, the outline of which may be traced by the gutter which ran at the foot of the colonnade to catch the water from the roof.

Of all the various images of Venus represented at Pompei, the most curious is the Pompeian Venus. The goddess is crowned with a golden diadem and dressed in a blue tunic studded with yellow stars. She leans on an oar, and holds a sceptre in one hand and a myrtle or olive branch in the other: Love, standing by her side, offers her a mirror.

Doves offered to Venus (a Painting)

The same figure, with the same attributes, is also to be seen in a large frieze representing the Marriage of Hercules and Hebe. In the centre of this composition is a temple—the Temple of Venus—in the middle of which stands the goddess. Love, by her side, armed with a helmet and shield, holds the sceptre with Venus, and on the other side Priapus, dressed in green, lifts up his tunic. On the steps of the temple, Hebe, young and

graceful, gives her hand to Hercules, who carries his club and the skin of the Nemæan lion. Behind him *pastophori* bear an *ædicula* on a *ferculum* upon their shoulders, and after them two other persons, wearing the toga with the narrow stripe, carry the tree of the Garden of the Hesperides. Two other figures, very much defaced, lead the way before these. On the other side of the temple a priestess comes forward with a *sistrum*, thus associating Isis with the ceremony: she is followed by two priests wearing the toga, and bearers carry on their shoulders a *ferculum*

The Marriage of Hercules and Hebe (Painting)

on which lies some object, so defaced that it is impossible to say what it is, though Fiorelli supposes it to be a phallus.* A white ox, adorned for sacrifice, is followed by a man bearing a lamb on his shoulders; and the procession is closed by two men carrying a throne wreathed with boughs, a silver crown lying on the seat. It is curious to find Venus, the patron of Pompei, presiding over the marriage of Hercules and Hebe, but the goddess of Love could not have been dissociated from the hero's adventures. Hercules was, moreover, according to the ancients, the founder of Pompei, and it is supposed that there was a temple dedicated to him in the Triangular Forum or Greek Agora.

* This detail recalls the processions of Lampsacus.

# III

## THE GREEK TEMPLE

OF the Greek temple which was built about the sixth or fifth century B.C., nothing now remains but the *podium*, the steps, and some few capitals of the Greek Doric order.* The temple was pseudo-dipteral, and was built on the same lines as the little temple of Ceres at Pæstum, the only difference being that, instead of six columns in the façade (hexastyle), the Greek temple of Pompei had seven, which must have given it a peculiar appearance, for the central column must have stood immediately in front of the door of the *cella*. This feature is very rare; the only other known instance is in the back of the colossal temple of Zeus at Agrigentum (where the columns measure 55 feet in height by 11 feet in diameter at the base). The Doric temple at Pompei is only 102 feet long by 67 feet wide, and its columns measure 4 feet in diameter at the base. (The Temple of Ceres at Pæstum is 105 feet long by 46 feet 6 inches wide, and its columns measure 5 feet in diameter at the base.)

We reproduce a drawing of the Temple of Ceres at Pæstum in its present state, to give an approximate idea of the old Greek temple of Pompei.

Three small altars, and an enclosure that was used, it is supposed, to preserve the ashes of victims, are situated in front of the façade of the temple. From this point the view is magnificent: the massive *podium* rises

* This temple may, perhaps, have been dedicated to Apollo and Diana. (Sogliano, *Guide to Pompei*.)

in sombre simplicity against the golden sky, and the distant sea flashes and vibrates like a burnished blade, the whole forming a startling contrast of brilliant light with intense black shadow.

A small monopteral temple, which is really a *bidental*, lies a little farther

The Greek Temple

forward, and encloses a *puteal*. The spot had been struck by lightning, and Numerius Trebius, the chief magistrate (*medixtucticus*) had it consecrated, according to an Oscan inscription found on the fragments of the pediment;

The Temple of Ceres at Pæstum

for every place where Jupiter had shown his power became sacred ground.

It seems strange that so little should remain of this temple, but it had probably fallen into ruins long before the earthquake of the year 63, and its stones had been used for other buildings. At that time, Propertius

writes,* the ancient religion was neglected; "the spider covers with her web the altars of the gods, and the grass grows over their abandoned temples to

The Greek Temple

our shame." Much more, then, were the ancient temples that had been destroyed left to decay, and rarely rebuilt. Moreover, the people of Pompei, true citizens of their age, gladly welcomed new faiths, and deserted the obsolete gods, who lost authority as they grew old.

* Book II., El. vi.

# IV

## THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO—APOLLO THE GOD OF AUGURY

IN spite of the licence that reigned in Pompei, and the decadence of an age that sought for stimulus in new sensations, there was an ancient cult that was still observed in the Campanian city: that of Apollo, whose temple had even been enlarged and beautified. The sanctuary was built before the Samnite period, and at first consisted only of a *cella.** The portico of forty-eight columns that surrounds it is of more recent date, and was built when the lighter Ionic style succeeded the severe simplicity of the Doric. Its walls were also decorated with scenes from the *Iliad*, and cells for the priests were added. The temple is hexastyle; at the foot of the flight of steps is the principal altar, inscribed with the names of the donors. An Ionic column of Phrygian marble supporting a sun-dial † stands to the left of the temple-steps, and on a tablet of marble affixed to it are inscribed the names of the two duumvirs who presented it to the temple.

Bronze Diana. From the Temple of Apollo (Naples Museum)

The portico that surrounds the *peribolus* had a roof supported by a

* Fiorelli.

† Probably in allusion to Apollo-Helios (Sogliano).

high wall, which completely enclosed the temple and its various dependencies, save for a wide opening left for the door. Six pedestals placed in the *area* upheld statues of Venus and Hermaphroditus, Maia (?) and Mercury, Apollo Sagittarius * and Diana. This bronze statue of Diana with enamel eyes seems to have been once used as a mouthpiece for oracles by the priests,† who spoke through a hole in the back of the neck ; the sound of the voice issued through the parted lips.

At the entrance of the temple there were lustral basins (corresponding to the holy water stoups in churches), where the worshippers of the god

The Temple of Apollo

made their ablutions before invoking him. Those who were present at the sacrifices stood in the *peribolus*, for the *cella*, which, like most of those in the temples of Pompei, is very small and contained nothing but the sacred statue of the god, was only accessible to priests, *camilli*, and certain initiated persons.

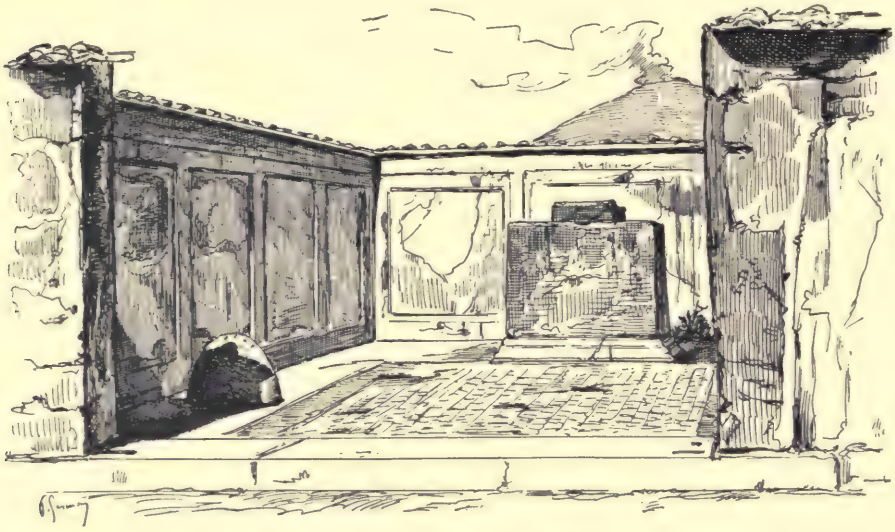
To the left, on the ground near the entrance of the *cella*, is the stone *omphalos*, the symbol of Apollo, which is represented on certain coins of Greece and Naples, on some old vases, and in various paintings in Pompei. The reticulations on the ovoid stone are worn away, except on the left side, which is still rough to the touch. The existence of the *omphalos* shows that at Pompei Apollo was worshipped more especially as the god of prophecy

* See the Statue of Apollo, Part VI., iii. 2.

† Fiorelli.

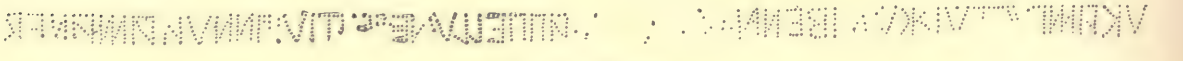
and divination; and the tripod on one of the pillars on the right-hand side of the *area* further emphasises this aspect of the cult.

An evidence of the antiquity of the Apollo-worship at Pompei is found in the pavement of the *cella*, where is an Oscan inscription, traced in dots,



The Cella of the Temple of Apollo and the Omphalos

on a band of marble. It is in retrograde writing, and Mau translates it as follows:



Oscan Inscription

*O Kamp* [*aniès . . . kva*] *isstur kombenni* [*eis tanginud*] *Apelluneis eitiuv* [*ad . . . opo*] *annu aaman* [*aff*] *ed.*

*i.e.* O(ppius) Camp(anius) by the decision of the Council, and with the treasure of Apollo, has caused to be executed a certain work (paving the temple?). In the *cella* the following Latin inscription was also found: "*To the goddess Tellus, Marcus Fabius the Second makes his vow by permission of the ædiles Aulus Ordianius and Tiberius Julius Rufus.*"

The *omphalos*, the tripod, and the goddess Tellus (identical with Gæa, the Earth) recall the Temple of Delphi, famous for the worship of Apollo. This temple was said to have been founded by the goddess Gæa, who was worshipped there before Apollo, and hence the oracle of

1. — PAINTING OF THE THERMOPOLIUM IN THE *Strada di Mercurio*

2. — THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH
(PAINTING IN A HOUSE OF THE *Vico di Tesmo*)

3. — A FOREIGN LANDSCAPE
(PAINTING IN THE *Casa del Centenario*)

Delphi was essentially an oracle of the Earth, of which Gæa was the personification.*

The serpent coiled round the *omphalos* as represented in several

A Sacrifice to Apollo (a Painting in the House of the Vettii)

paintings is the Python, the skin of which covered the tripod of the Pythoness. It is therefore depicted lying lifeless about the *omphalos*, a trophy of the victorious Apollo. Occasionally the *omphalos* † serves as the base of Apollo's tripod, and in shape resembles an egg, which among the Egyptians was the emblem of the world, or rather of the fertile breast of Gæa, the Universal Mother, the most ancient of the gods, "who nourishes all living things on her soil."‡

Tripod with the Omphalos (Painting in the House of the Vettii)

The Pythian Apollo, armed with the bow, was the Apollo Medicus of the Romans, whose arrows were both the cause and the cure of all the sickness man is heir to;§

* Delphi was considered by the ancients as the central point, the *navel* of the world.

† We should remember that in the earliest times the gods were worshipped under the primitive form of stones (litholatry); at Paphos, the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite, the Asiatic Venus was represented under the form of a conical white stone surrounded by torches; and Tacitus relates that Titus, when he visited Cyprus, saw the goddess represented in this form in her temple. Hercules in Bœotia, Eros at Thespis, Diana at Perga, and Apollo at Ambracia, were symbolised by pyramids of stone of various sizes. The *Omphalos* of Apollo was the only one of such stones which was reticulated; but other divine stones were often draped for ceremonies. Thus, on the coins of Selucia, the stone of *Zeus Cassios* is covered with a network resembling that of the *omphalos* at Delphi.—(Saglio, *Dictionary of Antiquities.*)

‡ Homeric Hymn to Gæa.

§ In 432 B.C. the Romans built a temple to Apollo Medicus in accordance with a vow they had made during the plague (Livy xl. 51). According to the same author, the Romans from the beginning consulted the Delphic oracle.

the serpent Python is the symbol of the noxious vapours arising from the earth under the fierce action of the sun. Phœbus Apollo, the destroyer, is compensated for by the Pythian Apollo, who uses the same arrows to destroy the monster, chasing away Fever * and bringing back Life again. Thus men first prayed to Apollo to temper his heat, and further invoked the god in times of plague and public calamity, when expiatory sacrifices were offered to him.

Apollo and the Omphalos (Painting)

Apollo is also represented at Pompei as Apollo Citharædus in various sculptures and paintings; he then has an aureole or rays of light round his head. In this aspect he is Phœbus the giver of good, the sender of the gentle light which gives harmony, gracefully symbolised by the Cithara. It was the same musical sentiment, the effect of inspiration, which caused Apollo to be considered as the divine source whence poets drew their purest and most exalted songs, and his inspiration is also the prophetic sense, of which Apollo is the incarnation. Apollo is likewise a prophet through the medium of his oracle, and the patron of colonies, which were often founded by command of oracles.†

Apollo (Painting in the Casa del Citarista)

Pompei, a thoroughly Hellenised city, also built a temple to Apollo Delphinius, the god of navigation, the

* At Rome there was a Temple to Fever.

† Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique.*

etymology of whose name is confused with that of the word "dolphin" (Δελφὶν); for Apollo, the god of navigation, is the Dolphin whose form he had assumed.* In other pictures the crow, the bird of omen, is represented by the side of Apollo, who has his tripod, another symbol of his power of divination.

* Homeric Hymn to Apoll. Pyth.

# V

## THE ISIS OF POMPEI—THE ISIUM—THE CULT OF ISIS—WOMEN DEVOTEES OF ISIS

THE cult of Isis was even more popular than that of Apollo in Pompei, especially during the latter period of the city's history. Her temple was undoubtedly the richest religious building there, owing to the great popularity of the Egyptian religion, which had long been accepted at Pompei, though at first it made little way in Rome itself.

At Rome, indeed, we read in Valerius Maximus that, in the year 534 after the foundation of the city (more than two centuries before the Christian era), the Senate gave orders for the demolition of the Temple of Isis and Serapis. No workman, however, would touch it, so the Consul S. Æmilius Paulus threw off his *toga prætexta*, and seizing an axe, himself struck the doors of the temple, the common people not daring to profane a building they believed to be sacred. It was not until the dictatorship of Sylla that the cult of Isis was officially recognised in Rome. In Campania, on the other hand, altars were raised to Isis long before this period; for the Græco-Egyptian influences, which had gained ground at the time of the Ptolemies, had left a deep and enduring mark on Pompei, where the dominant art was the art of Alexandria. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that a fresh impetus was given to the cult of Alexandrian divinities when the soldiers of Cæsar returned fresh from the fascination of Egypt.

The people of Pompei discovered that in one essential point Isis had an analogy with their own patron goddess. In Venus they worshipped

the universal feminine principle of fecundity, and we find the same idea expressed in the cult of Isis, who represents the feminine quality in nature—"L'épouse qui reçoit le germe productif," according to Lafaye.* On one of the pilasters of the *megarum* of the Isium at Pompei, amongst other Isiac and Alexandrian symbols, a germ seems to be represented in the female organ, the whole surrounded by ears of corn (a symbol of

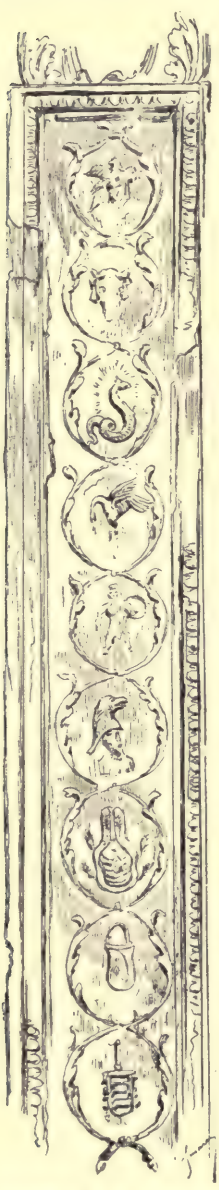
The Temple of Isis

fertility), the use of which was taught to men by Isis to turn them from cannibalism.

The worship of Isis, however, was less materialistic than the cult of Venus; it was even, indeed, the poetic and mystic expression of Love. It was a religion of mystery, and drew a veil over those secrets of Nature it venerated. The happiness given to the initiated by the influence of a subtilised love, and the peculiar tact of this form of worship, the materialism of which was skilfully concealed from the

* Lafaye, *Histoire des Cultes d'Alexandrie.*

uninitiated, made the religion of Isis the chosen cult of pagan-minds in love with the ideal and dissatisfied with the grossness of Græco-Roman pantheism.



Stuccoes in the Megarum (Isiac and Alexandrian Attributes‡)

The fundamental theogonic idea of its doctrine also attracted men by its monotheistic simplicity, synthesising in the person of Isis all the force and beauty of Nature. Isis was a woman, great and beautiful; the mother of all, kind and pitiful; the personification of mercy;* the giver of happiness on earth and a serene life after death; the spiritual sister; the guardian genius of the soul, loving and helpful; the wife who consoles, the sincere lover offering celestial joys. She is Providence, the "Good Mother," the *Bona Dea.* The finer spirits accepted this worship readily, in a somewhat *dilettante* spirit, for its secret charm and its idealisation of gross practices promised new sensations, very congenial to fastidious minds.

The cult of Isis was handed on from father to son, from mother to daughter. "It is in Isis men believe, when they believe in God," writes Juvenal.† She was the second person of the Egyptian triad, Serapis-Osiris, Isis, Horus-Harpocrates. The ideals of the religion of Isis were high, and its tendencies pure and moral, in spite of its timid and carefully veiled sensuality. It had a certain salutary influence on the ancients, restraining them somewhat from the grossest forms of impurity, and even ordering them to purify themselves for the new birth of the soul, and thus

* Lafaye, *Histoire des Cultes d'Alexandrie.* † Juvenal III.

‡ (1) The Eagle of the Ptolemies (?). (2) The Cranium of an Ox. (3) An *Uræus* surrounded by Rays of Light. (4) The Goose sacred to Isis. (5) A Pigmy Gladiator. (6) Osiris bearded (?), and wearing a Vulture's Head, the hieroglyph of which signifies *father.* (7) The Female Organ and a Germ surrounded by ears of corn, an emblem of fertility. (8) The Sacred Vase. (9) The *Sistrum.* The details of the stuccoes are very much defaced (especially in Nos. 1 and 6).

prepare it for the ideal love that heals. The object of this religion was the knowledge of God, which, says Plutarch, is "the first and chiefest of our duties," and duties to men were not forgotten. In the *Book of the Dead*,* the departed spirit says to his judges: "I have practised justice on earth, I have not persecuted the unfortunate, I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated, I have not made men weep, I have not slain;" and then he adds: "I have given bread to the hungry, and water to the thirsty." This is charity, a sentiment little in accordance with the spirit of Paganism, but the religion of Isis worked a change in human sentiment and touched the chords of natural generous feeling. The god Serapis, on the other hand, inspired fear; but it was a salutary fear, for he maintained peace, and forbade men to injure one another. It is probable, however, that these lofty theories were not always reduced to practice, especially by worshippers of the Isis of Pompei, who had something of an Egypto-Grecian or Alexandrian character; for the goddess, according to Juvenal's irreverent description of her, was *lena*, a very complaisant divinity! †

Marble Statue of Venus from the Temple of Isis (Naples Museum)

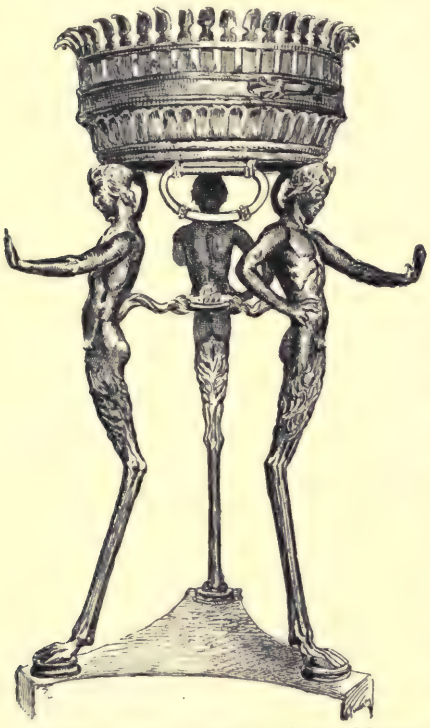
Marble Statue of Isis (Naples Museum)

The worship of Isis, the mother of Nature, or the personification of Nature itself, was closely allied to the cult of Venus, with whom was associated the god Bacchus, who corresponds to the Egyptian Osiris. Both Bacchus and Venus had their statues in the Temple of Isis, a

* Lafaye, *op. cit.* p. 93.

† Juvenal VI.

promiscuity ill calculated to give an austere character to Egyptian worship at Pompei. In the house of Julia Felix, however, which was inhabited by a devotee of Isis, there is a painting representing Isis, Anubis, Osiris, and Horus in a *sacellum*, a niche in which was occupied by a fine tripod of Alexandrian work, in bronze, supported by three ichthyphallic fauns standing back to back. The warning gesture of their outstretched hands suggests that the mystery was not to be consummated by every one.*



Bronze Tripod of Julia Felix (Secret Museum of Naples)

The ritual of the cult of Isis was not everywhere the same; even the doctrine and its symbols varied in consequence of local identifications of Isis with other divinities.

Marble Statue of Bacchus from the Temple of Isis (Naples Museum)

In Apuleius and Plutarch, who were contemporaries and flourished not long after the destruction of Pompei and Herculaneum, we find detailed accounts of the religious and sacerdotal features of the Egyptian cult. Many of the priests and priestesses of Isis lived in seclusion,† and formed colleges, the head of which was known as the *father*;‡ but the *pastophori* (secular priests)

* It is noteworthy that ancient Egyptian paintings represent an ichthyphallic person in the celebration of several religious ceremonies. Among the Romans also the Vestal Virgins worshipped the god of Lampsacus and consecrated their virginity to him.

† The *pastophori* probably came from Egypt, for in some pictures relating to the cult of Isis the priest has a darker complexion than the other persons.

‡ Lafaye, *op. cit.*

also lived near the temples at the *pastophoria* (the "presbytery"), in order to be always ready to perform their duties.

Priests of Isis. A Painting from the Temple of Isis (Naples Museum)

They often led a life of extreme asceticism,* being vowed to chastity and to abstention from various sorts of food. They might not eat meat, nor use salt; wine was forbidden, and all food that had once been living. They agreed never to block up a spring of water or to destroy any fruit-tree; they were not even allowed to use wool for clothing, as it was taken from a living creature. These priests, in fact, constituted themselves the protectors of Nature, watching over it with jealous care and protesting against any violation of its harmony.

Hermanubis. Painting from the Temple of Isis (Naples Museum)

There were several orders among the priests of Isis: the Hierophori and the Hierostoli, whose dark-hued priestly robes, relieved by bright ornaments, symbolised the sacred mysteries and the less occult doctrines. They wore linen vestments with fringed borders, and had their heads shaven; but there was an order of incense-bearers and acolytes who wore their beards and hair unshorn, as represented in a picture in the Naples Museum.†

Priests of Isis, Painting from the Temple of Isis (Naples Museum)

The Egyptian religion was an encroaching faith, and the Roman poets speak disparagingly of it. The priests of Isis, according to them, were often mere mendicants, who for small sums read the stars and exploited

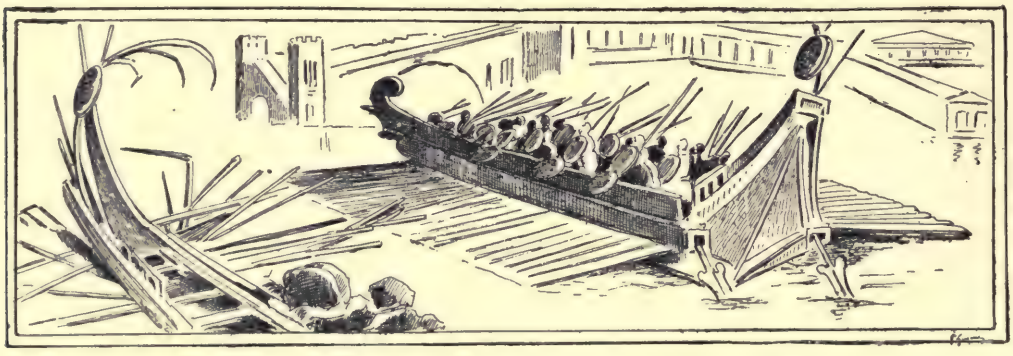
* Instances of this are to be found in various oriental cults; that of Cybele in particular might be quoted.

† See the Salle d'Isis in the Musée Guimet, Paris.

public curiosity. Each new initiation, and every stage in it, was made the excuse for fresh calls upon the purse of the neophyte, who was tricked by clever scenic effects into the apparent witnessing of fantastic miracles, such as seeing the sun at midnight.* The divinity also revealed herself in

The Cult of Isis. Sprinkling Holy Water. A Painting from Herculaneum (Naples Museum)

intimate and close communion, leaving the initiated person in a mystic ecstasy, in which he saw "things unspeakable," and dedicated his life to the goddess of his worship. Isis was honoured in various solemnities, and



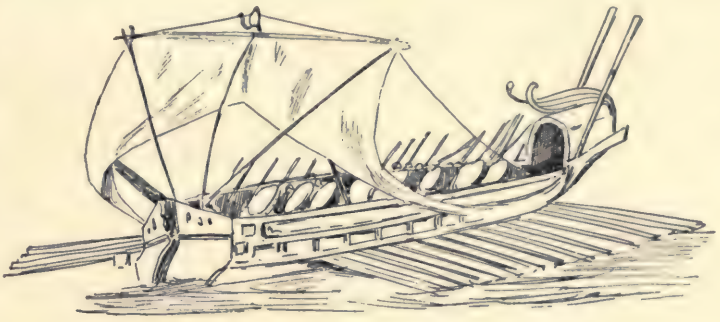
The Feast of the Ship of Isis. Painting from the Isium (Naples Museum)

the birth, the passion, the death and resurrection of Osiris were celebrated.

Some pictures in the Naples Museum represent certain ceremonies of the religion of Isis. One of the most curious of these was the Feast of the Ship of Isis, which took place on March 15, and was very popular on

* Apuleius.

the shores of the Mediterranean. There was a procession from the Isium to the seashore, where all the ships that had been stranded and afterwards brought ashore during the past year were solemnly launched on the sea again. A new ship was also sent to sea on the same day, as a sign that the season of navigation had begun again. Certain paintings in the Temple of Isis represent ships thus offered to the goddess, whose name they bore.



A Ship of Isis, a Cutter. Painting from the Isium (Naples Museum)

The ritual of the cult also included dances, and there is a painting of a bearded man, his head crowned with leaves and the lotus-flower, symbol of the resurrection, probably executing one of the steps in the *Passion of Osiris.* It has a certain resemblance to the *danse du ventre,* in which we may, no doubt, recognise the pantomime of some religious poem. Another painting represents a ceremony where the high priest, with shaven head and wearing a linen vestment, raises before the assembled worshippers a vase containing the sacred water of the Nile, symbol of the productive forces of Nature, under the figure of the Nile that fertilises Egypt. An altar, on which perfumes and offerings are burning, stands at the foot of the temple steps, and a priest fans the sacred fire, while musicians play the flute and the spectators shake the *sistrum.*

Ceremony of the Cult of Isis. The Sacred Dance. Painting from Herculaneum (Naples Museum)

Ceremonies such as these must have been held in the Isium at Pompei, which was destroyed by the earthquake of the year 63, but rebuilt at the expense of Nonnius Popidius Celsinus, as is recorded by an inscription over the lateral door opening on the street. In return, the Decurions elected Popidius to their order free of charge. The sanctuary itself stands apart on a *podium* approached by eight steps, and preceded by a peristyle consisting of four front and two side columns. The farther end of the *cella* is occupied by a large vaulted pedestal, pierced by two lights opening into a subterranean passage, which was reached by a staircase outside.* The priest probably hid himself in this secret passage to speak the oracles to the devout who came in crowds to worship the great goddess. The statue of Isis was *acrolithic;* that is, the head, hands, and feet were of marble, the body of wood; she was dressed in linen robes; in her right hand she held the sistrum, and in her left the Nilometer. In the western *ambulacrum* there was another statue of the goddess, of coloured and gilded marble, presented by Cæcilius Phœbus, and not far from it was the head of a devout worshipper of Isis, the actor C. Norbanus Sorex.

A Ceremony of the Cult of Isis. The Adoration of the Sacred Water. A Painting from Herculaneum (Naples Museum)

Norbanus Sorex, an Actor (a Bronze in the Naples Museum)

* Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompéi.*

On either side of the entrance—a door in the wall of the *peribolus*—there were two fonts for lustral water, and a marble pedestal, which, according to Fiorelli, was used as a stand for the alms-box. The sacred precinct where the worshippers stood is enclosed by a portico, and in the intercolumniations were several altars, on which stood statues of Bacchus and Venus. Behind the sanctuary is a large hall, the *Schola*, which may have been used as a meeting-place for the regular worshippers of Isis, and a hall where the followers of the goddess were addressed and exhorted. The ears of stucco on the walls seem to symbolise the hearing of prayers by the goddess. A *sistrum* with a cat's head and a marble *monopodium* were found here, and there are two large paintings on the walls. One of these represents Io delivered from Argus by Mercury; and the other, Io borne on the shoulders of Nilus, landing in Egypt, and welcomed by Isis, who holds in her hand the *uræus*, or sacred serpent, while her attendants shake the *sistrum*. In the right-hand corner a figure of Harpocrates symbolises mystic silence.

Marble Font for Lustral Water from the Temple of Isis
(Naples Museum)

The *Sacrarium* was the place where the treasures given to the goddess by the initiated were kept. Its walls are covered with paintings representing Bacchus, Narcissus, Chiron teaching Achilles, Paris and a River-god (the Sarnus?). There is also a painting resembling those of the *lararia*, where Isis, surrounded by serpents (agatho-dæmons), is seated on a throne; by her side is Osiris, bearded, and dressed in a long tunic, his head crowned with a nimbus and the lotus-flower, a sceptre in his hand, and a human head between his feet. Typhon is seated, naked, in a hieratic

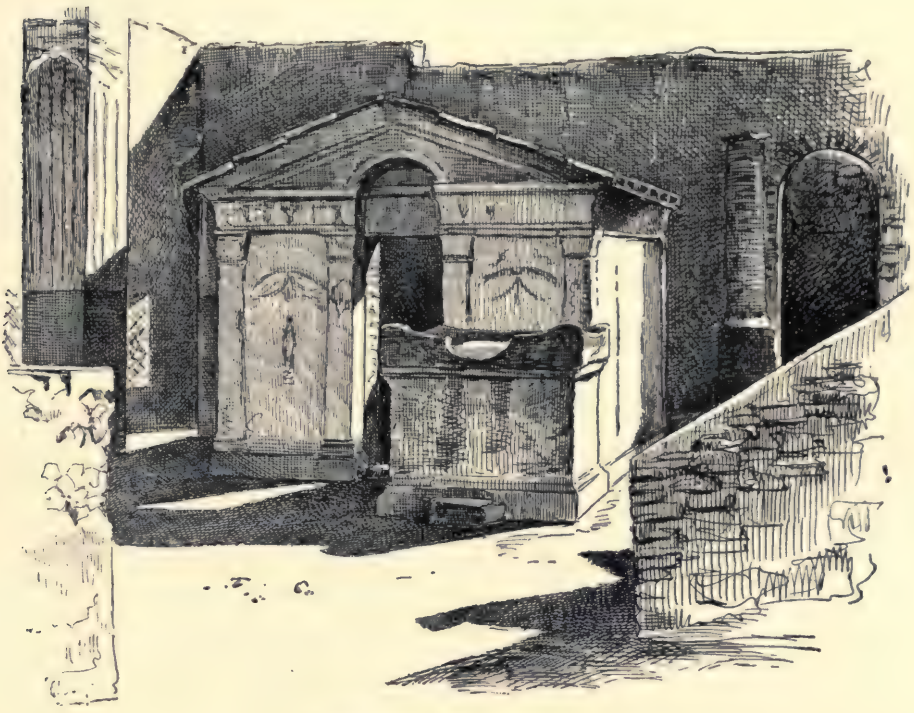
attitude, with his hands on his knees. Between two enormous heads, five times the natural size, bearded, and wearing the lotus-flower (Plutus-Serapis), an Egyptian woman is represented on board a vessel, towing another ship on which is a caged bird. In this *sacrarium* a statue of a bearded god was discovered, who is supposed to be Priapus, and in a niche there was an Egyptian divinity of greenish porcelain, seated, and wearing the *klaft* on her head, her body covered with hieroglyphics. Some sphinxes, wearing the lotus-flower,* were also discovered.

Io landing in Egypt. A Painting from the Isium (Naples Museum)

The initiations, no doubt, took place in an isolated chapel, the *megarum*, situated in the *peribolus*, on the left-hand side, in the front part of the temple. It had a subterranean chamber decorated with pictures relating to the cult of Isis, and containing a divan, on which the neophyte spent the night in expectation of the vision of Isis and the mystic consolations of her presence. The outside walls of the *megarum*† are covered with symbolical subjects in stucco, and

* See Lafaye, *op. cit.*

† There has been some discussion about the name to be given to this small isolated chapel. Some see in it a piscina connected with a leaden pipe. In this case the place would have been used as a *purgatorium*.



Megarum of the Temple of Isis

on two of them there are decorative groups, one representing Mars and Venus embracing between two Cupids, and the other, Mercury seizing Proserpina, or the nymph Lara, also flanked by two Cupids. Opposite this small building stands an altar, where offerings were consumed during the sacrifice, the ashes being thrown into a trench on one side.

Interior of the Megarum, Temple of Isis (after Cooke)

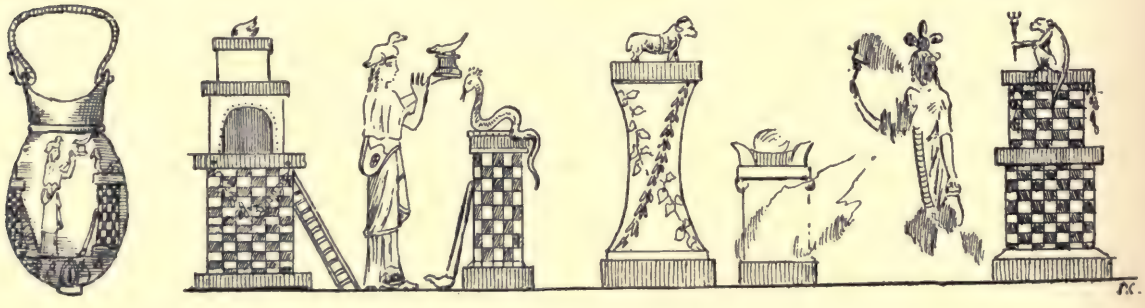
Many objects were found in the temple, amongst others a bronze tripod supported by sphinxes and a small portable altar. In the *Schola*, two bronze

candelabra were discovered, and two wooden coffers containing various objects—two bronze candlesticks, a little gold cup, and a silver crescent.

Bronze Isiac Tripod (Naples Museum)

On the three faces of one of the pillars of the peristyle, near the *megarum*, there were three hieroglyphic stones showing traces of black, green, and red colouring, but they are of no special interest.

A funeral *stela* of alabastrian stone was also discovered, on the upper part of which are fourteen figures of Egyptian divinities, two of whom have human faces and worship Osiris, who is represented here with his demiurgic attributes. On the lower part of the *stela* is a hieroglyphic inscription of twenty lines, which Champollion translates as follows: "This is a public commemoration of the priests of Horus, and the other divinities of the lower world, He who tempers the light, the torch that illumines the world, August and Gracious."*

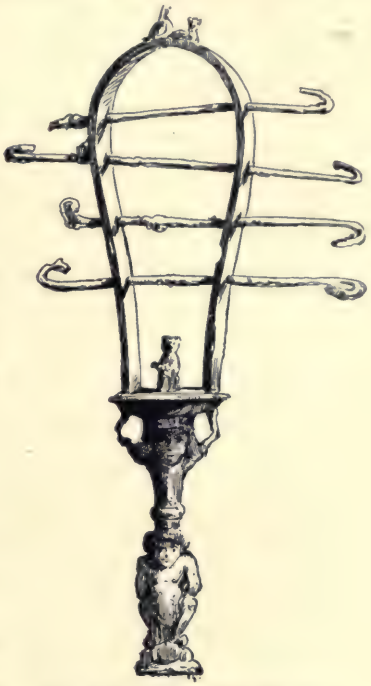


Silver Vase used in the Cult of Isis, and details of the Vase (after De Clarac)

Among the many objects relating to the worship of Isis that have been collected at Pompei, there is a curious vase of which De Clarac made a

* Domenico Monaco, *Guide du Musée de Naples.*

special study.* It is of engraved silver, and was found in the Triangular Forum, beside a skeleton. The oval shape of the vase recurs in many paintings relating to the Egyptian religion, and suggests the drop of water, or the egg, to which a mystic meaning was attached. The upper portion of the vase ends in a crescent, an attribute of Isis as the moon, which was supposed to have a great influence on the overflowing of the Nile, the source of the wealth of Egypt. Apuleius also speaks of a vase in the shape of a breast, from which milk fell in drops—a symbol of Isis, the Mother of Nature, nourishing those she had borne. But, as De Clarac observes, this vase is not pierced, and consequently it could only have been an imitation of the vase of Apuleius, perhaps used to contain the sacred water that symbolised the Nile.



Bronze Sistrum (Naples Museum)

Amongst the details of ornament is Isis wearing on her head the Numidian hen, a species of vulture peculiar to Egypt; its hieroglyphic meaning is "mother." She holds in her hand a crocodile, the emblem of the Nile; the serpent by her is the *uræus*, the symbol of divine power, and the ram represents Ammon, who is identical with the Greek Zeus. The second female figure is Isis, or the priestess of Isis, often represented with the same attributes as the goddess. On her head she wears the lotus-flower, the symbol of the resurrection; she holds the vase of sacred water and the *sistrum*, an Egyptian religious instrument, the round part of which represented the world, according to Plutarch, and the four rods the four elements. The *sistrum*, when shaken, was a symbol of the eternal movement of nature.

* Excavations at Pompei, March 18, 1813. Articles published in the *Journal Français* of Naples, April 4, 5, 6, 7, 1813, and also in 8vo, 93 pages, with 15 plates.

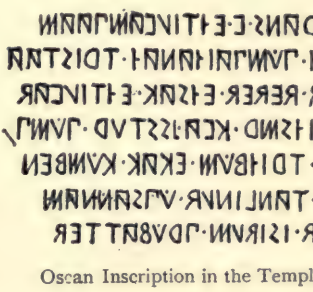
On the next altar sits Anubis, the dog-headed (cynocephalous) monkey, to whom the Egyptians attributed certain qualities that placed him among the sacred animals. According to the hieroglyphic legend, he was the son of Osiris and Isis, and later explanations of his functions declared that he represented time and universal reason. As Anubis is identified with Hermanubis, the Egyptian Mercury, it is probable that the object he is holding is the caduceus.

Apuleius gives a full and minute description of the final stage in an Isiac initiation. We will note only the most characteristic details. Lucius (who is to be initiated) came forward after a period of purification by fasting and ablutions, wearing twelve sacerdotal robes, and covered by a linen vestment painted with flowers; a magnificent *chlamys* hung from his shoulders to the ground. His robes were embroidered on every side with animals of various colours, Indian dragons, hyperborean griffins, and imaginary four-footed beasts with birdlike wings. This vestment was called by the priests the *Olympiac stole*. Finally, Lucius, rigid as a statue and magnificent as the sun, holding a lighted torch and crowned with laurel, the leaves of which formed a halo as of rays round his head, was shown to the expectant crowd.

After the ceremony, Lucius celebrated the day of his new birth by a delicate repast and joyful feasting. The same ceremony, with the ceremonial feast, was repeated for three days; he finally addressed a fervent prayer to Isis, in which he attributes to the goddess the combined powers of all the other divinities. The monotonous and cadenced sound of *sistra* and cymbals, accompanied by enervating and languorous chants akin to certain oriental rhythms of the present day, must have had a strong influence on a mind filled with suggestions of the supernatural, giving rise to certain phenomena of the hypnotic state in which the personality seems to lose itself in Nature and become absorbed by her.

Women were naturally ready converts to the cult of Isis, their impressionable temperament making them peculiarly liable to its influence.

According to Ovid, women went to find lovers at the theatre, or, more often, at the temples of the Egyptian goddess; and the presents they gave her were of great value, as is proved by an inscription* where we read that a Spanish woman dedicated a silver statue to Isis in honour of her little daughter. Besides the diamonds on the statue, there was a diadem consisting of one large pearl and six small ones; emeralds, rubies, and jacinths; ear-drops and pendants of pearls; a necklace consisting of thirty-six pearls and eighteen emeralds, with two for the clasps; bracelets and anklets; rings for every finger; † finally, eight rough emeralds set in the sandals. On the other hand, many women deserted their lovers for the mysteries of the goddess, and were never weary of the charm of this particular religion. Tibullus‡ bitterly upbraids Delia: "What is thy Isis to me now? What is it to me that thy hand has so often shaken the *sistrum?*" But when Tibullus fell sick he also invoked the goddess and prayed to her in his turn. "Come to my succour" (he writes), "for thou canst heal me! The many pictures hung in thy temple are a proof of it! Delia, in pursuance of her vow, will sit robed in linen before thy sacred door, and twice a day, with hair unbound, she will sing thy praises, drawing all men's eyes in the midst of the multitude of thy worshippers." The Corinna of Ovid also, when in danger of death, invoked the goddess and was saved. As to Propertius,§ he expresses his resentment against the religion of his mistress: "It is now the time of the gloomy ceremonies of Isis, and Cynthia has already given up ten nights to her. Ah, perish the daughter of Inachus!"‖



Oscan Inscription in the Temple of Isis

* Corp. insc. lat. II. 3, 386.

† See Boissier, *La Religion romaine*. The statue of the Madonna di Sant' Agostino at Rome is covered with similar decorations.

‡ Tib. I. iii.

§ Prop. II. xxxiii.

‖ Io, who was confused with Isis.

# VI

## THE TEMPLE OF FORTUNA AUGUSTA—THE FOUNTAIN OF MERCURY

A GRÆCO-ROMAN divinity, Fortune (Fortuna or Tyche), who had some analogy with the Egyptian goddess, came under the influence of the cult of Isis and acquired many of her attributes. Thus, while retaining her own characteristic emblems, the rudder and the cornucopia, Fortuna was further endowed with a head dress in which the lotus-flower, the crescent, the *uræus*, the *modius*, and the *sistrum* form a fantastic diadem. This was the origin of Isityche, several statuettes of whom have been discovered at Pompei. Under the Roman Empire, Fortuna bore the official name of *Fortuna Augusta*, and a temple was built to her at Pompei. This monument was due to the munificence of a Roman —a certain Tullius—who may have been of the same family as Cicero.

Bronze Statuette of Isityche
(Naples Museum)

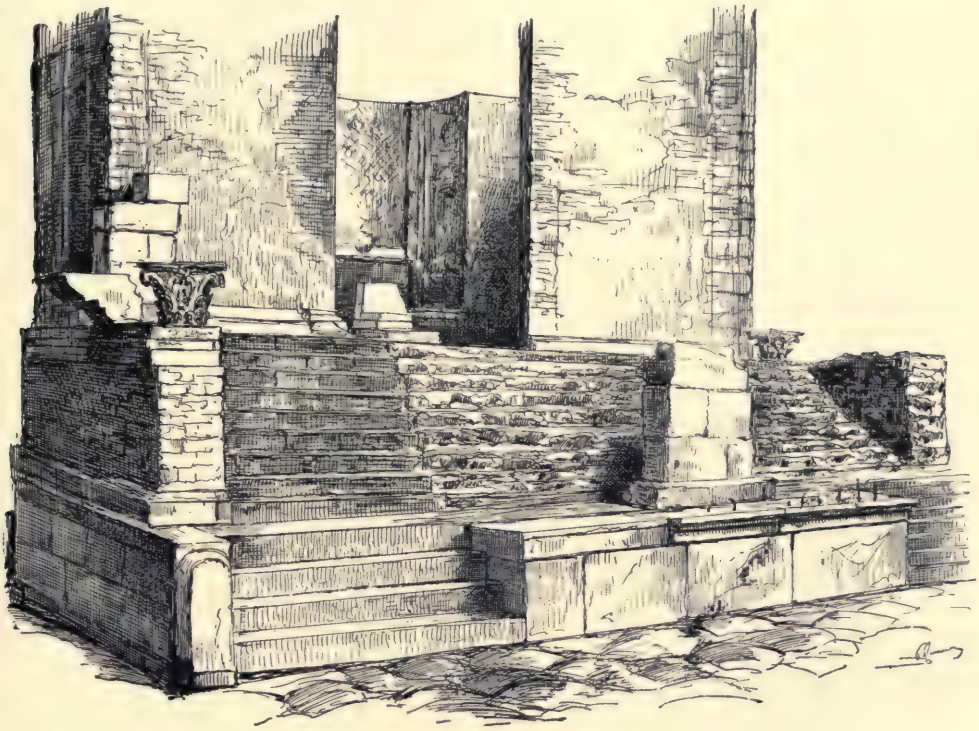
The building is small, but richly decorated with white marble. The base is divided by a stair-head, on which stands the altar of sacrifice, placed on the *thymele.** Some fragments of an iron gate that closed the entrance to the temple are still in existence. The *pronaos* had only four columns

* Exterior platform of a temple, on which an altar was placed.

supporting the architrave, on which is inscribed the following dedication :

M · TVLLIVS M · F · D · V · I · D · TER · QVINQ · AVGVR · TR · MIL ·
A · POP · AEDEM FORTVNÆ AVGVST · SOLO ET PEQ · SVA

*I.e.*—" Marcus Tullius, the son of Marcus, duumvir and judge for the third time, quinquennalis, augur, and military tribune elected by the people, erected on his ground and at his own expense the Temple of Fortuna Augusta."



Temple of Fortuna Augusta

Another inscription informs us that the slaves of Vettius, of Cæsia Prima, of Numitor and of Lucutulantus were the first ministers of Fortuna Augusta. Besides the statue of the goddess, there was a statue of Tullius and his wife in the temple. Fortuna Augusta was specially invoked during the Emperor's journeys to ensure his safe return, but mortals were also entitled to her favours. Fortune, however, was not always a beneficent power. Palladas, an Alexandrian, tells us that : "She knows neither law nor reason—the cruel despot of men, sweeping all things to destruction in her wilful course. She inclines toward the evil man and hates the good,

as if to show her blind and cruel power. By what contrivance may I master Fortune" (he writes): "Fortune, who lies in wait for us in her secret place, and takes us unawares with all the wiles of a courtesan."*

Though she was much invoked, Fortune inspired no great confidence, and her dispensations were feared rather than desired. Mercury, on the other hand, the divine provider, the zealous dispenser of her favours, must have had many devotees in a trading city like Pompei."†

Mercury, however, has no temple at Pompei, for the temple supposed to be his has been proved to be that of Vespasian; but there is a fountain named after him, in the Street of Mercury, not far from the Forum.

* Anth. græc.

† In a Pompeian painting Fortune is represented sending Mercury, bearing a heavy purse, to traverse the world. This subject is several times repeated on the walls of the city.

# VII

## THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER MEILICHIOS—THE TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN—THE ALTAR OF SACRIFICE

IN addition to these special cults, there was one form of worship general to the whole community, which no good Roman could neglect. This was the worship of the three great Capitoline deities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The shrine of the triad was at the back of the Temple of Isis in Pompei, in a small temple which used to be known as the Temple of Æsculapius, from the numerous terra-cotta votive-offerings, models of hands, feet, breasts, uteri, and so on, discovered there. Some god of healing was certainly worshipped in this sanctuary, for a bust of Minerva Medica was found there, beside the statues of Jupiter and Juno, who were mistaken for Æsculapius and Hygeia. It is possible, however, that the Jupiter worshipped here in the last days of Pompei was Jupiter-Serapis, to whom the Romans attributed the power of healing sickness.

Terra-cotta Statue of Jupiter
(Naples Museum)

After the year 63, we find that the Romans took advantage of the destruction of the temples in the first earthquake to introduce various changes into the old cults at Pompei. Thus, the Temple of Æsculapius, as it was called, was

originally dedicated, according to an Oscan inscription, to Jupiter Meilichios, the god who delights in sacrifices. The temple itself, which is the smallest in Pompei, is approached by a portico, the roof of which was originally supported by two columns. The small room adjoining the temple was used to store the objects connected with the cult, or perhaps to lodge the sick who came there to implore healing. In the *area* stands an archaic altar decorated with triglyphs; nine steps lead to the *cella*, before which stands a *pronaos* with four frontal columns.

Terra-cotta Statue of Juno
(Naples Museum)

In addition to the votive offerings of terra-cotta found here, there must have been other proofs of the gratitude of the people to the god of healing. Votive pictures of the accident or danger escaped were also offered to the god. An idea of what such pictures were may be gathered from a visit to the church of Sant' Agostino at Rome, where there is a permanent exhibition of the most picturesque of such offerings.

Three other religious buildings remain to be examined: the Temple of Vespasian (or the Temple of Mercury, as it used to be called), the Temple of Jupiter, and the *sacellum* of Augustus, or *Augusteum*.

The Temple of Vespasian, as it is pronounced to be by the German archæologist, August Mau, was built at the expense of the priestess Mamia, whose tomb has been described. It is a very small building, and its vestibule, covered by a roof supported by four columns, leaves the *cella* entirely exposed. The *cella* is approached by a flight of steps on either side, facing the back wall, so that they cannot be seen from in front. Before this little sanctuary, which also bore the names of *Quirinus* and of the *Genius of Augustus*, there is an altar of fine white marble, carved with sculptures of no great artistic merit, but of some interest in their detail.

In the bas-relief on the front of the altar, the *Popa*, with two assistants, leads the bull destined for the sacrifice. A *victimarius*, stripped to the waist, is wearing the *limus* and holds a mallet in his hand. The sacrificer,

Temple of Jupiter Meilichios

a magistrate (probably an *Augustalis*, as may be gathered from his armed suite), pours a libation on the tripod, and behind him stands the *camillus*,

Temple of Vespasian

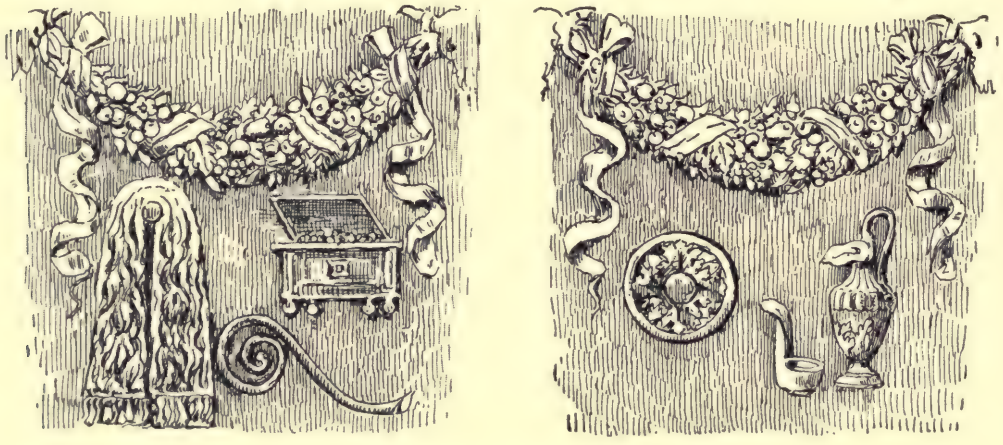
with the *vitta* on his shoulders, and carrying the *simpulum* and the *patera*. Farther on a young man, the *fictor*, offers a *patella* full of cakes, while in the background a *tibicen* plays the *tibiae-pares*.

On the back of the altar is carved a crown, and on the lateral faces

are the various objects used in sacrifices. On the one, a *simpulum* with a *præfericulum*, and a small vessel for lustral water; on the other, a *lituus*

Bas-relief of the Altar of the Temple of Vespasian

(the curved emblem of the augurs), an *acerra*, the box of incense, and the



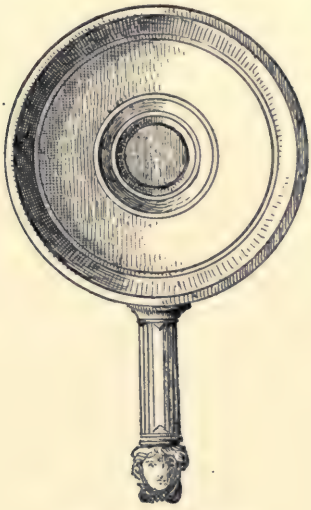
Bas-relief of the Altar of the Temple of Vespasian

*mantile*, a towel with a thick long nap, used to staunch the blood of the victims.

A kind of meat-hook, the *pembelon*,* was used to keep the flesh of the

* The pembelon was also a kitchen utensil. See Helbig, *L'Epopée homérique expliquée par les monuments*. Trans. Travinski. Introduction by Max Collignon.

victim on the altar-fire, and basins with movable handles contained the entrails of the victims, in which the augurs read whatever their imagination

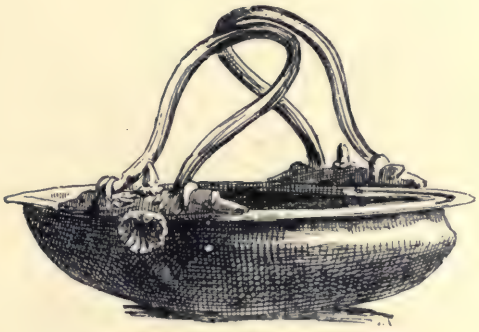


Patera (Naples Museum)

Pembelon (Naples Museum)

suggested; for the art of divination, derived from the cult of Apollo,

Sacrifice of a Pig (Marble Bas-relief in the Naples Museum)



Bronze Basin, to hold Entrails of Victims (Naples Museum)

was much practised among the Romans, who were extremely superstitious.

# VIII

THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER, OR CAPITOLIUM—THE MACELLUM—THE SANCTUARY OF THE LARES OF THE CITY—THE AUGUSTEUM—THE AUGUSTALES—THE LARES OF AUGUSTUS—THE LARES COMPITALES—THE BUILDING OF EUMACHIA—THE PUBLIC PRIESTESSES

THE Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the master of the gods stood in the Forum, in the place of honour. Fiorelli tells us that this temple, which was of great height, was very much damaged by the earthquake of 63, and that it had not been restored at the time of the destruction of the city. The interior of the building had a rich polychrome decoration, and a large head of Jupiter was found in the *cella*. In the front of the temple, on either side of the *podium*, were two pedestals for equestrian statues. Several writers suppose that the *pulpitum* of the flight of steps was probably used as a platform by orators when public matters were discussed in the civil Forum.* The portico consists of twelve columns, six in front and three on either side, and the

Marble Bust of Jupiter (Naples Museum)

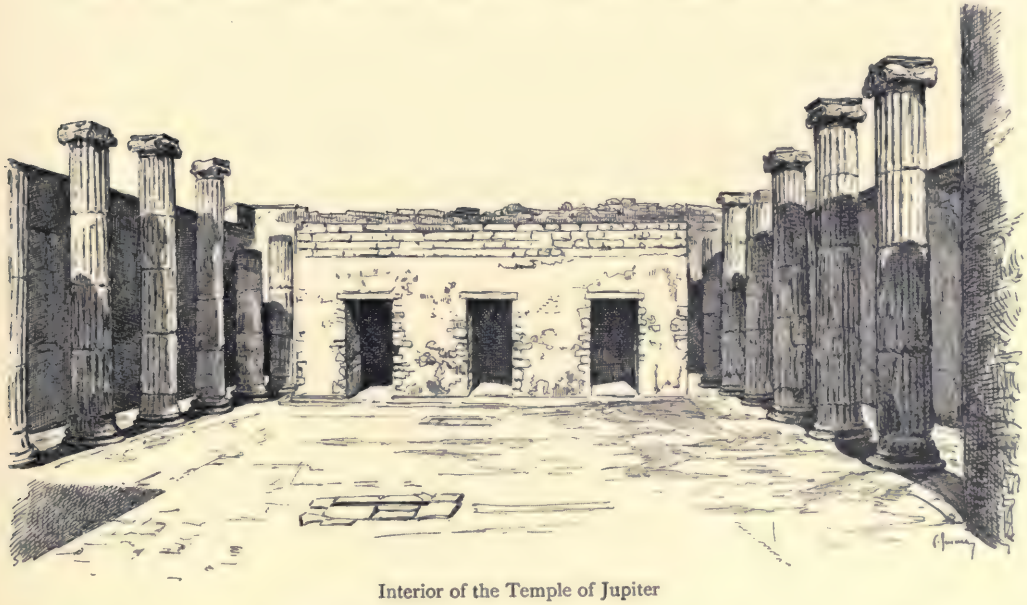
* Breton, *Pompeia décrite et dessinée.*

corresponding pilasters have the same arrangement. The sanctuary had a double row of Ionic columns, above which rose Corinthian columns,

Temple of Jupiter, or Capitolium

forming an upper gallery, reached by a flight of steps behind the base of the building.

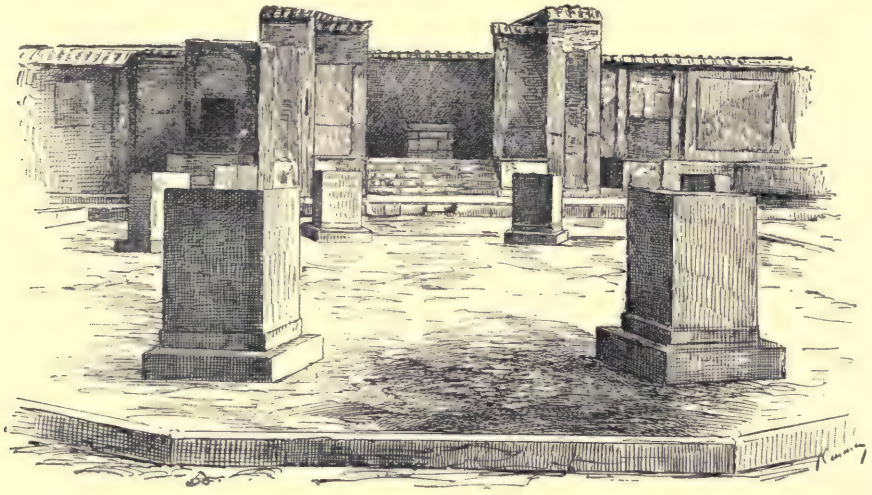
This lofty base is pierced by three doors that open into three *cellæ*,



Interior of the Temple of Jupiter

which, according to Mau, contained the statues of the three Capitoline deities who were worshipped in the little temple of Æsculapius. Thus the Forum of Pompei had its Capitol. At the later period of the city's history,

however, the temple contained only fragments of statues and broken ornament that had been left there;* and the Temple of Jupiter, like many others, was deserted in favour of the newly-created Roman worships,



The Macellum

which found their supreme expression in the honours paid to the *deified Augustus.*

The small Temple of Augustus

The *Augustales,* whose names are frequently mentioned in lapidary inscriptions, formed a college at Pompei. They had accordingly a place of meeting, and this it has been thought possible to determine from the

* See the *Bulletin archéologique de la Religion romaine,* by Aug. Audollent. Leroux: Paris, 1898.

discovery of some portions of a building which, owing to the different elements composing it, has been given a variety of names. It lies on the right side of the civil Forum, and contains a large open space surrounded by shops and rooms. In the centre are twelve pedestals on a low dodecagonal base, which, no doubt, supported the basin of a fountain. The twelve pedestals suggested the theory that statues of the twelve gods may have been placed here, and the building was named the Pantheon in consequence. Afterwards it was discovered that the open space was a market—the *macellum*, as it is now called—and that the twelve "pedestals" supported a domed roof or *tholus*. Tradesmen must undoubtedly have had shops in the small rooms round the *area*, and a large number of bronze and silver coins were found here in cash-boxes (1036 bronze and 36 silver coins, and 93 of other sorts). The walls of the *peribolus* are decorated with paintings in good preservation.

At the farther end of the *area* stands a small temple, or *sacellum*, which consists only of a *cella* raised above a few steps. In the niches of the lateral walls two marble statues were discovered, representing either Livia and Drusus, or Marcellus and Octavia. Within the sanctuary there is a pedestal on which the statue of the deified Augustus is supposed to have stood. This *sacellum*, which is the principal part of the *Augusteum*,* is flanked on the left by a vast hall decorated with paintings, in one corner of which stands a little chapel with an altar for the sacrifice of victims, and a stone bench. It was in this hall that the religious banquets must have been given. On the right of the *sacellum* is another hall, as large as that on the left, containing a block of masonry on which fish were sold. The wall at the farther end of the hall is decorated by a painting representing the Assembly of the Gods. Both these halls had vaulted roofs, and their façades were supported by columns.

According to Mau, another building, the *Sanctuary of the Lares of the*

* According to Sogliano, the *Augusteum* was situated near the Gate of the Seashore, on the site we take to be that of the Temple of Venus.

*City*, was the place where the Lares of Augustus were worshipped, together with the public Lares. This building consists of an *area*, in the centre of which stands an altar to the Emperor and his children. At its dedication there were gladiatorial combats and spectacles for the people.* The farther end of the *area* ends in an apse, and contains a shrine with a pedestal wide enough to support the statues of various guardian deities of the city.†

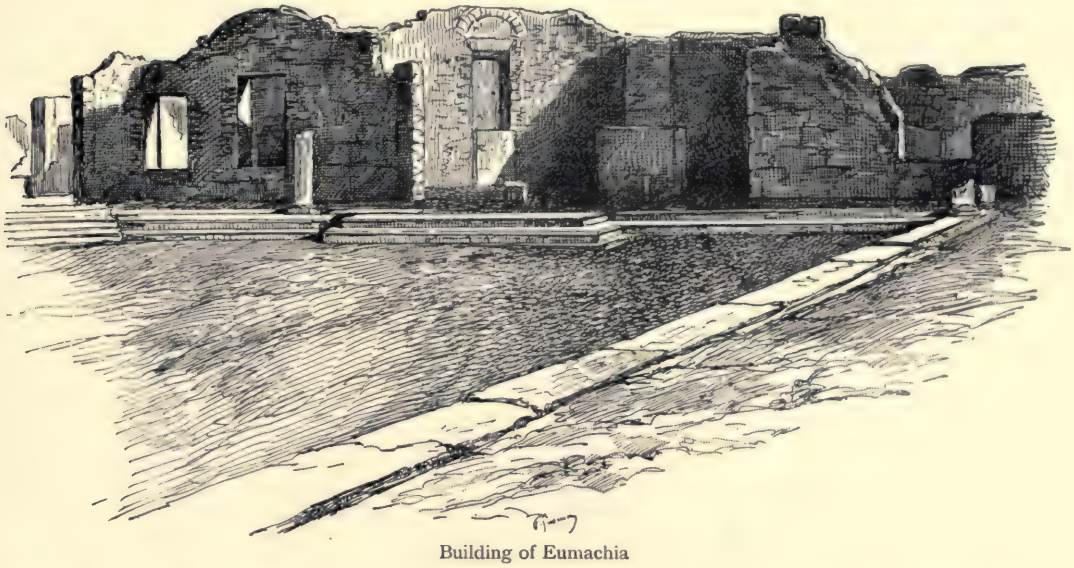
Altar of the Lares compitales. Crossway of the Streets of Nola and Stabiæ

There were also altars erected to the *Lares compitales* at the crossway where the Streets of Nola and Stabiæ meet; near the *House of the Citharista;* and on the left-hand side of the Street of Mercury was a private chapel, forming a *pergula*, a small room, in which were seats for priests and niches for the gods.

The Lares of the city were celebrated in great public festivals which took place in January, after the Saturnalia, when all the streets rang with shouts of joy and the noise of games and cheering.‡ These festivals, originally instituted by the Etruscan Mastarna, who became King of Rome under the name of Servius Tullius, served to unite the different quarters of the town in common worship, and to bring the different classes together by means of popular gatherings, thus promoting a more intimate association of the citizens.

* Fiorelli. † A. Audollent, *Bulletin archéologique de la Religion romaine.* ‡ Æneid VIII. 77.

Suppressed by Cæsar, these festivals were re-established by Augustus,*



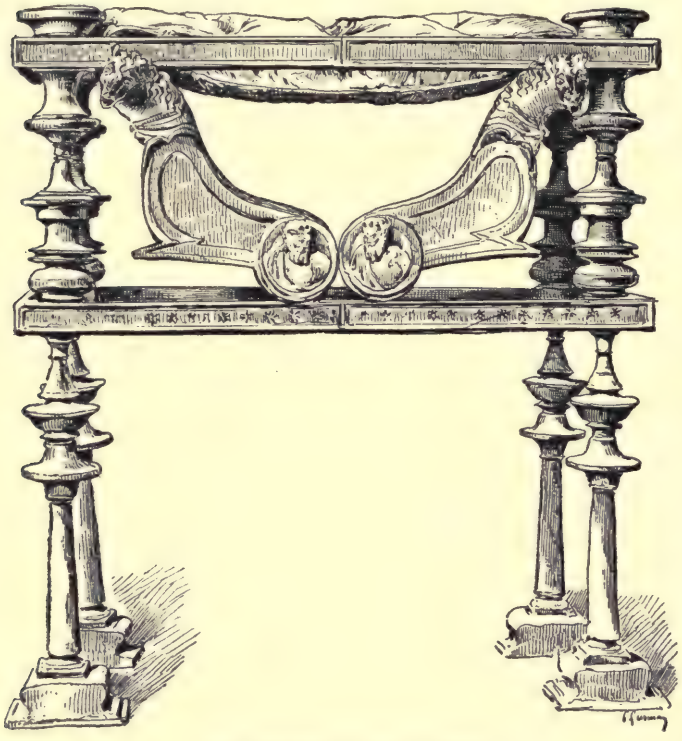
Building of Eumachia

who, under cover of the popular veneration for the *Lares compitales*, introduced the association of the Lares of the Emperor with the Lares of the city. This fusion was brought about by the co-operation of the *magistri vicorum*—civil magistrates who were responsible for the distribution of the Emperor's bounties; they commanded a body of slaves whose duty it was to put out fires in the city, and had also something of a religious character, which they did not fail to turn to account in their own interests.

Side Entrance to the Building of Eumachia; in front of it is the Fountain of Abundance

* Boissier, *La Religion romaine.*

It is extremely probable that, from this body of functionaries thus invested with a dual character, was formed the corporation of *Augustales*—the priests of the Cæsars—several of whom earned the honour of the *bisellium*, awarded by the decurions, as certain inscriptions on tombs record.



Bronze Bisellium (Naples Museum)

Women also exercised sacerdotal functions. A building at Pompei, which can scarcely be classed with the temples, but is to a certain extent a religious edifice, is the portico built by the priestess Eumachia. Her statue has been discovered. On the pedestal is the following inscription:

EUMACHIAE L·F
SACERD·PVBL·
FVLLONES

"To Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, and public priestess, the fullers" [erected this].

The entrance opened upon the Forum, and has an inscription which is also found over a lateral door opening into the Street of Abundance, reproduced in one of our illustrations: "*Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, a public priestess, in her own name, and in the name of her son, Marcus Numister Frunto, has erected at her own cost a chalcidicum, a crypt, and a portico, and has dedicated them to Concordia Augusta and to Pietas.*"* The building

* This was a dedication to Tiberius and Livia, for the effigy of Piety is represented on some of the Emperor's coins. (*Sogliano*).

Marble Statue of a Priestess of Pompei (Naples Museum)

consists of an *area*, surrounded by a covered gallery (portico) and another enclosed gallery (crypto-portico). The *chalcidicum* * was the outer portico, supported by sixteen columns; at its farther end are two *exedræ*. Here, in the *Schola*, the members of the corporation of Fullers met together, under the patronage of Eumachia, a woman whose refined face has a melancholy expression. Other priestesses have left records of their names at Pompei. We know of Holconia, Lassia, Mamia, who built the Temple of Vespasian, and of Istacidia N. F. Rufella, whose memorial cippus stands beside the tomb of Mamia. Thus we see that the sacerdotal office was by no means confined to men in Pompei, and Cicero tells us that the priestesses of Venus were recruited in Naples. They were matrons who were held in great honour, and whose

Eumachia (Marble Statue in the Naples Museum)

Marble Statue of a Priestess of Pompei (Naples Museum)

* The word "chalcidicum" is derived from the town of Chalcis in Eubœa, where this kind of building appears to have been invented.

large fortunes enabled them to give public games or decorate a theatre, as a free gift to the city. In return they received public honours, and great associations put themselves under their patronage; the senators of a city in Italy even awarded a certain Nummia Valeria, priestess of Venus, the title of Protectress of the City.*

* According to Mau, the sacerdotal offices at Pompei may be classed as follows: (1) Priestesses of Ceres and of Venus. (2) Priest (*flamen, sacerdos*) of Augustus. (3) Augustales. (4) Ministers of Augustus, of Mercury, and of Maia. (5) Ministers of Fortuna Augusta. (6) Masters (*magistri*) and ministers of the *pagus* (borough) *Augustus Felix*, called after the Emperor.

# IX

## THE LARES DOMESTICI AND THEIR ORIGIN—THE GENIUS LOCI—SERPENTS (AGATHODÆMONS) AND THEIR INFLUENCE

IN addition to the public services in temples, which included the sacrifice of victims and the celebration of mysteries, private worship of the gods was also held in every house, although, in the early days of Rome, Numa had forbidden his people to worship and invoke the gods in their own homes, or in any place but the temples. The Græco-Roman houses had accordingly a sacred place or shrine—the *Lararium*—where the Lares, Penates, and Genii were invoked.

The ancients, who believed in the immortality of the soul, accepted the existence of secondary divinities, intermediaries between heaven, the lower world, and the earth. The *Manes* of the dead, it was thought, haunted their old homes to protect them; and the spirits of dead kinsmen were honoured in the house itself, because, in the earliest times, the dead were buried in their own domiciles. But, for reasons connected with the character of individuals, all the dead did not become tutelary genii: the evil spirits, or *larvæ*, and the souls of the dead who had not received the rites of burial, could find no resting-place, and were condemned to remain "unquiet ghosts." The spirits of the good were the *lemurs*, or *lar*.* Yet, as the true nature of the dead man could never be known, the purest part of the spirit was

* M. Guigniault, in his translation of Creuzer, says that the sentiment of home, the earliest memories of the house of our fathers, the intimate familiarity with and tender confidence in places known to us from childhood—all these ideas, and their various shades of feelings, are bound up in the Etruscan word *Lar*.

included under the name of *Manes*, which were honoured as demi-gods, and became the *Lares*, or protectors of the hearth.* Cicero says that relations who are dead are to be considered as gods. There were many classes and infinite varieties of *Lares*: the *Lares publici*, or *Augusti*, who were the genii of the deified emperors, and the *Lares compitales*, or *Lares* of the city, have been already mentioned; there were also the *Lares rustici*, *marini*, *familiares*, and *domestici*. The *little Lares* were the gods of the country, Priapus, Vertumnus, and the rest; the *great Lares* were the genii of the twelve great gods, and were also called *Penates*.†

The *Lares domestici* were the object of special devotion in every family where ancestors were reverenced. There are innumerable altars to these *Lares* in Pompeii, ornamented with figures of the gods, and with decorations varying according to the wealth and religious sentiments of the master of the house. Among the ruins of the city, one might well say, with the Quartilla of Petronius, "it is easier to find a god than a man."

"The gods are the sons of fear," as Petronius says, and Maximus Tyrius estimates their number at 30,000. These figures are not surprising when we remember that the Romans included all the new gods that came to their notice among *the little gods*, the *dii populares*, the majority of whom owed their names to some special attribute ascribed to them. Even the unknown gods present or to come (*dii ignoti*) were included in their crowded Olympus. When the Romans were at a loss for a new power whose protection they might invoke, they invented other divinities whose *Lares* inherited their godhead. Thus the genius of Augustus, which

* The germ of the idea of the *Lar* is to be found, I believe, in the *Works and Days*, where Hesiod, after having told of the common origin of gods and men, and of the early Eden of Saturn's reign, says: "At that time men died as if they had fallen asleep, but when the earth had closed over this earlier race, Jupiter made them into *kind spirits who live among us, keeping watch over men*, and observing deeds just and unjust. They are wrapped about in clouds that hide them from our sight, and go wandering on the face of the earth, to distribute riches among men; such is the royal function allotted them."

† The *Penates*, strictly speaking, were the Gods of the State, considered as a family of citizens, to whom the whole Roman nation offered sacrifices on certain days.

CASA DELLA CACCIA

THE HOUSE « DEL POETA TRAGICO »

was invoked during the Emperor's lifetime, after his death became a *Lar*, and was worshipped as a divinity. Later on, the practice was carried to still greater lengths. The great men who had educated Marcus Aurelius became his *Lares*, while Alexander Severus worshipped Orpheus, Abraham, and Jesus Christ, showing an eclectic spirit in the composition of his curious Pantheon not often paralleled among the devout.*

The Genius loci. A Painting from Herculaneum (Naples Museum)

The greatest freedom in the choice of patron gods was given to every one, hence the numberless paintings and statuettes, of which we will notice the most characteristic specimens. The *Lararium* itself is often quite simple, the place being dedicated to some divinity by a single painting. Stucco bas-reliefs or paintings of serpents decorated the walls of several rooms in the house as emblems of the *genius loci.*

In one of our illustrations Harpocrates is represented with finger on lip, beside an altar round which is coiled a serpent about to eat the dates and figs placed there as an offering. An inscription in the background runs as follows: "*Genius hujus loci montis*": "The genius of this place, of this mountain."

So, in the *Æneid*, Æneas, after having performed the funeral rites of Anchises, sees a serpent gliding from his father's tomb, but doubts whether the serpent is the familiar genius of his father or the *genius loci.*

Serpents were held in such great veneration that they became the objects of a popular cult. At Rome † it was the custom to tame them and feed them in the house, and at banquets they glided into the laps of the guests.‡

* Christ was accepted by the Pagans as a god, and equal to their own gods, but the Christians were not content with this, and this was one of the pretexts for the persecutions.

† Pliny XXIX. ch. iv.

‡ Seneca, *De Ira* II., xxxi.

In time, no doubt, these tame serpents increased until they became a nuisance, and instead of keeping the living reptiles in the house, serpents were represented on the walls.* These *genii* were painted everywhere, to protect kitchens, bakehouses, the walls of the streets and street corners. Persius, who wished all things to be as white as snow, writes †:

*Pinge duos angues; pueri, sacer est locus; extra*
*Mejite.*

Inscriptions are sometimes added to the picture to emphasise its meaning; such as:

*Otiosus locus hic non est, decede morator;*

Or:

*Duodecim Deos et Dianam et Jovem optimum maximum habeat iratos quisquis hic minxerit aut cacaverit.*

Above a painting that represents a man stooping and attacked by two serpents are written the words: *Cacator cave malum.* These admonitions must certainly have been necessary before Vespasian's time, and similar warnings were written on the walls of the corridors leading to the *thermæ* of Trajan at Rome. Popular habits seem to have been much the same in all ages, and among the ancients certain inscriptions served, as now, to protect public monuments from pollution. It is curious to note the influence of religion in all the details of life among the ancients,

Protective Sign (Painting in the Naples Museum)

* At Pompei, harmless serpents, very like the famous *genii loci*, still infest the fortified walls looking towards the country.

† Persius, *Sat.* I.

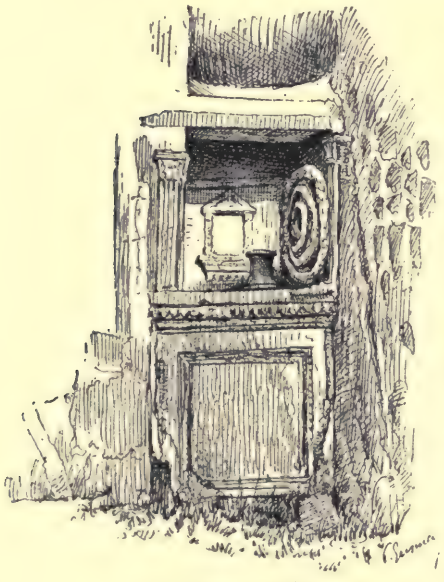
who, like practical people, even pressed the gods into the service of the street-police.

In the Roman religion serpents were always regarded as protecting *genii*, while, in the earlier history of their cult, which is an extremely ancient one, they are considered as good or evil powers according to circumstances.

# X

## LARARIA.—THE RITES AND CUSTOMS OF THE DOMESTIC CULT OF THE LARES

LET us enter a house in Pompei through the *prothyrum*,* passing over the greetings *Salve* or *Have*, and granting the tribute of a sigh to the forgotten gods of the door. The panels are gone; Foculus once watched over these; Limentinus protected the threshold and lintel; the goddess Cardea guarded the hinges; and Janus was the patron of the whole. Within, in one corner of the *atrium*, we find a niche hollowed in the wall, in which is placed a shrine with a *pulvinar*.† There the images of ancestors (*imagines majorum*) used to be kept, with the *Lares* and tutelary deities. The images of the absent, as well as those of the dead, were placed in the recesses round the *atrium*, and Ovid describes the wife of Protesiläus looking tenderly at the portrait of her husband, who has set out for the war, and embracing it as though it were Protesiläus himself.‡



Stucco Lararium

Petronius thus describes a *lararium*:§ "In the corner of the portico I saw another vast cupboard enclosing a shrine, in which were kept silver

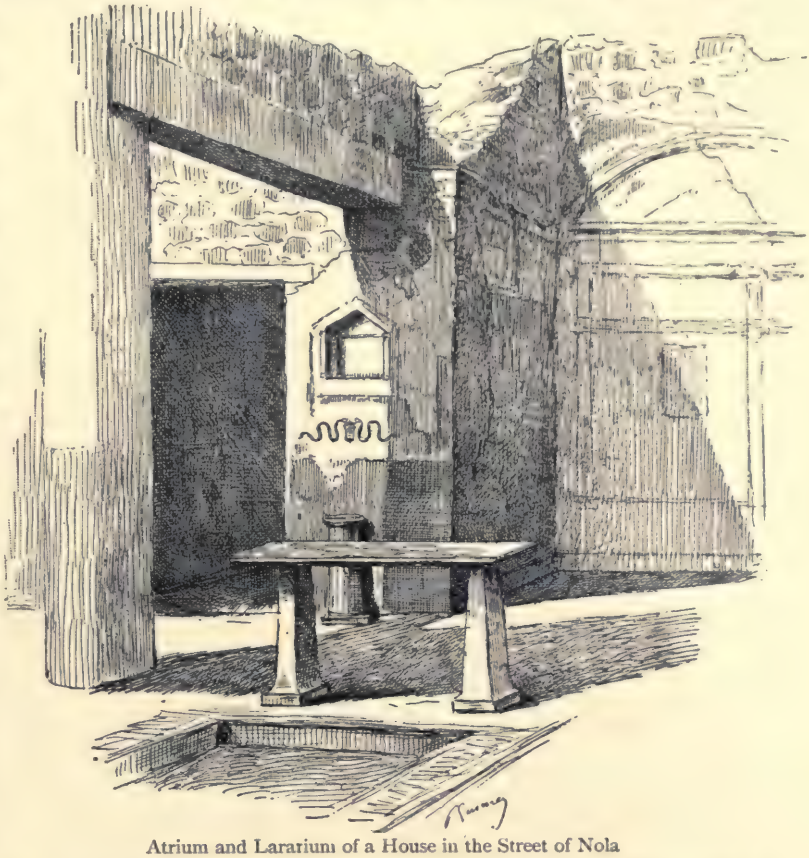
* See Part V.

† The *pulvinar* was the ceremonial bed of the gods.

‡ *Heroïdes*.

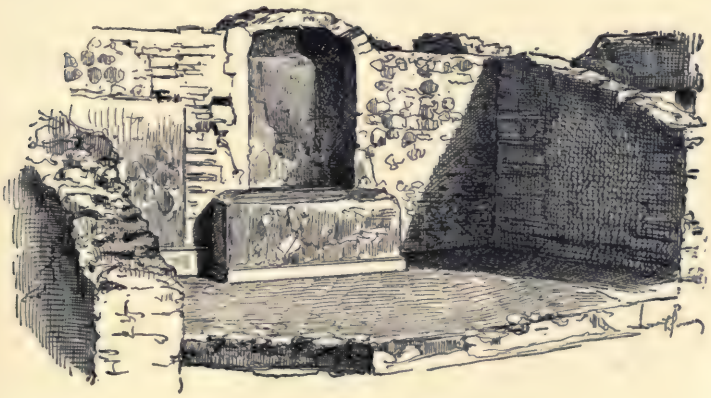
§ Petronius, *Sat.* XXIX.

*Lares*, a marble statue of Venus, and a golden box of fair size, which, they say, enshrined Trimalchio's first beard."



Atrium and Lararium of a House in the Street of Nola

It was not only in the *atrium* that *lararia* stood, however; the *peristylium** sometimes contained a shrine, and certain rooms known as *sacelli* were veritable sanctuaries. These private oratories, ending in an apse, are chiefly found in the houses of rich men, where the gods were luxuriously worshipped. Cicero describes a chapel of this kind,† which contained a marble statue of Cupid by Praxiteles, a bronze Hercules by Myron, Canephoræ of bronze by Polycletus, and a wooden statue of Bona Fortuna. Important documents and objects of great value were stored in this sacred place, which was always protected by the guardian serpents (*agathodæmons*).



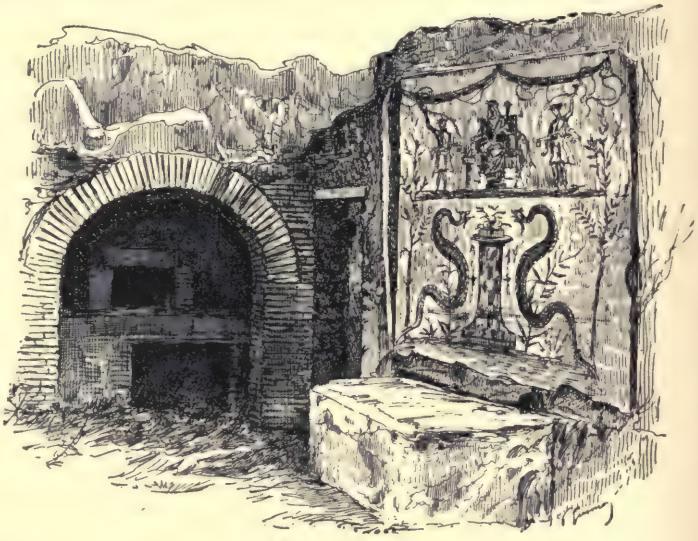
Sacellum

* See Part V.

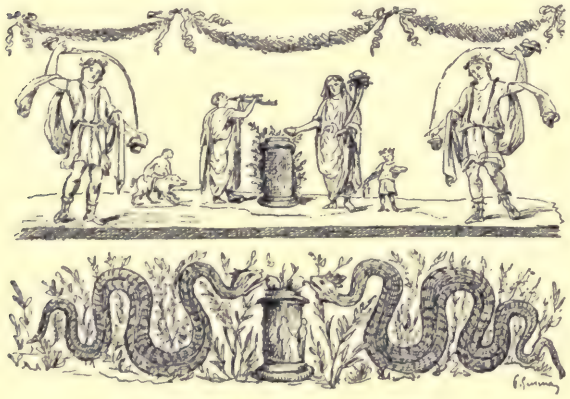
† The house of Popidius Priseus had a *sacellum*.

Omphalos (Painting in a Lararium dedicated to Apollo)

In a painting in a *lararium* dedicated to the Genius of Apollo, the *omphalos*, the emblem of the god, is represented covered with a network; round it is the serpent Python, here the *agathodæmon;* the two *Lares* wear the Phrygian bonnet. In another painting, near an oven where bread was baked, the *genii loci* are represented on either side of an altar covered with fruit. Above them is seated Ceres, holding the cornucopia and the *patera*, and about to pour a libation on a little altar wreathed with ears of corn. She is attended by *Lares pocillatores* crowned with leaves, wearing a short tunic (*succinctis laribus*), and holding in their hands the *rhyton*, from which a stream of wine falls in a graceful curve.



Altar to Ceres



Sacrifice to Abundance (Painting)

This is the aspect in which the *Lares familiares* are generally represented, and they often appear to be executing a pirouette.* On the floor by the wall is a block of masonry where the kneading-

* See Emmanuel, *La Danse Grecque antique*, 266. Hachette: Paris, 1896.

trough must have stood — an altar, as it were, to the goddess Ceres.

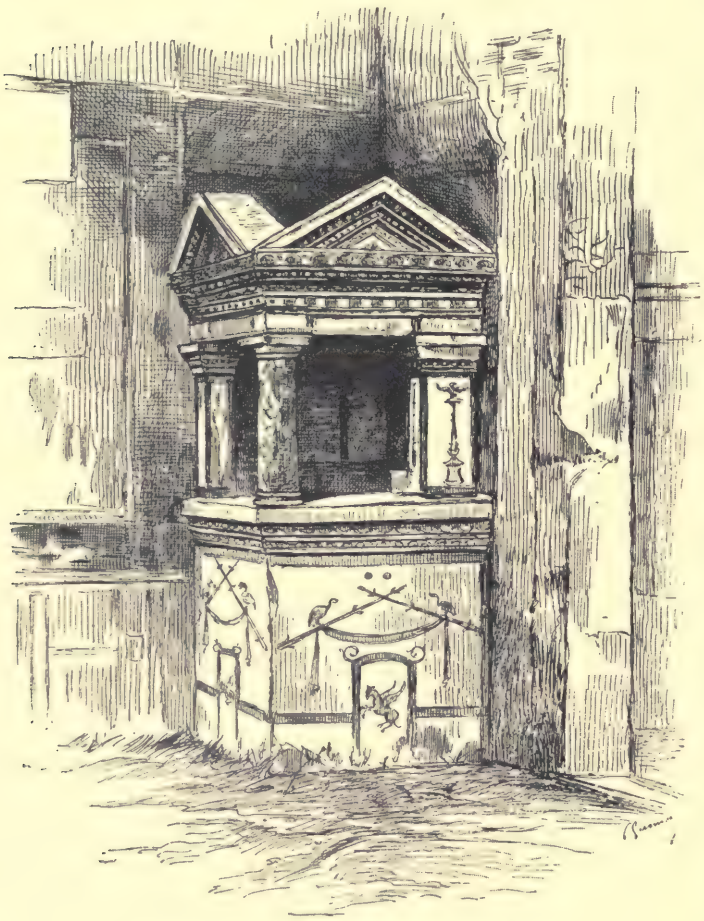
Another painting represents Abundance standing, and by her side a little *camillus* crowned with green leaves, and holding a wreath of flowers and a *patella* full of food.* A young man in a white dress plays upon the *tibiæ-pares*, and marks time with the *scabellum* used by the *tibicines*. Behind him a child leads a pig, bound with a red girdle with black stripes, to the altar of sacrifice, and two *Lares* enframe the central group.

Bronze Statuette of Abundance (Naples Museum)

Sometimes the central figure is of bronze, as is the statuette of Abundance here reproduced. The goddess holds a silver *patera* in her right hand, and is seated on a throne ornamented with two tritons, her feet resting on a stool with a sphinx at either end. Flanking the goddess are two dancing *Lares pocillatores*, and above the shrine is hung a lamp, shaped like a human foot, suspended by a short chain. Below the *lararium* a small circular altar was placed, on which incense was sprinkled and libations poured. The flames then consumed the offering, grateful to the guardian spirits of the hearth, and necessary to them in their life beyond the tomb.

* The *patera* was used in sacrifices for offerings of wine, while the *patella* was used for the solid food offered to the gods. This is why the Lares are sometimes called the *dii patellarii*.

On the altars of these guardian deities were found statuettes of the other gods, Jupiter, Minerva, Hercules, Harpocrates, Mercury, Venus, Isis-Fortuna, Diana, and Apollo. A polychrome statue of Aphrodite, bare to the legs, and holding an apple in the left hand, was also discovered.*



Lararium of Epidius Sabinus (polychrome stucco)

*Lararia* were often of considerable size; they were then called *sacraria*,† and occupied an intermediate position between a *sacellum* and a simple niche. In the house of Epidius Sabinus a large stucco altar fills one corner of the *atrium*. On its two sides are painted ornaments of chimæras and birds in light tones of colour. The short columns rising from the base support a pediment ornamented with stucco mouldings in the primary colours, blue, red, and yellow, which were always used for this style of decoration.

In the house known as the House of the Diadumeni, next to the House of Epidius Sabinus, there is a similar *lararium*, which bears the inscription: *Genio Marci Nostri et Laribus duo Diadumeni liberti.*

* See Part VI. iii. 2.

† The *sacellum* always contained a chapel with an altar erected to some divinity, while the *sacrarium* was both a room adjoining the temple, where the sacred utensils were kept, and also the place in private houses consecrated to the guardian divinities.

Another altar of coloured stucco, with a pediment, stands opposite a *venereum*, in a house not far from the Triangular Forum.

Bronze statuettes of Hercules and Apollo, Æsculapius and Mercury, and also of the secondary deities, the guardian *Lares*, were arranged on the abacus of the *lararium*, in front of a painted figure of Abundance surrounded by serpents (*agathodæmons*). Before this gathering of the gods was set

Lararium of polychrome stucco

Bronze Statuette of Apollo
(Naples Museum)

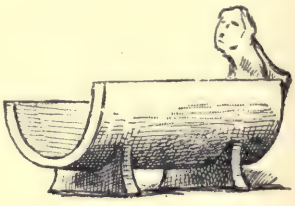
a lamp with a crescent-shaped ornament, the emblem of Diana or of Isis.

It was on these altars that the young free-born Pompeian, when he came to man's estate, laid the purple and the *toga prætexta* of his childhood, and hung up his golden or leathern *bulla* on the cippus that represented the gods of the hearth.* It was here that a portion of the food was offered to the gods before a meal; and on great days, on the feasts known as *laralia*, the

* Persius, *Sat.* V.

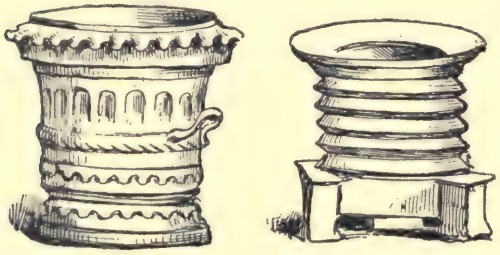
Bronze Statue of Æsculapius
(Naples Museum)

altars were hung with wreaths and the doors of the *lararia* left wide open. Garlands of flowers and leaves were twined. The gods were hidden under roses and foliage, and after the rites were over a libation was poured upon the hearth. At the close of Trimalchio's orgy, three slaves dressed in white tunics entered the hall; two of them placed on the table the *Lares*, who had golden *bullæ* hung round their necks, while the third went round the table and cried with a loud voice the words: "*Dii propitii.*" These gods, according to the Amphitryon, were called *Cerdon*, *Felicion*, and *Lucron*.



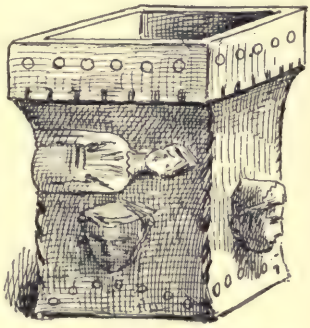
Terra-cotta Patera for Libations to the Gods of the Hearth
(Pompei Museum)

It was to the *Lares* that the soldier offered a portion of his spoil on his return from war, and slaves who were set at liberty consecrated their chains. A newly-married wife, when she first entered her husband's house, threw a piece of money on the hearth to propitiate her new household gods, and barren women placed phallic votive offerings by their altars.



Terra-cotta Braziers of a Domestic Altar
(Pompei Museum)

When the season of the Saturnalia came round, the images of the gods were covered with terra-cotta masks to protect them from the insults and ribaldry of the slaves.

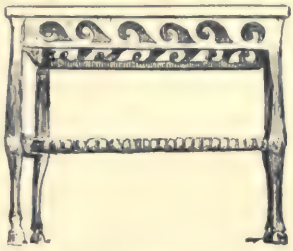


Terra-cotta Brazier of a Domestic Altar (Pompei Museum)

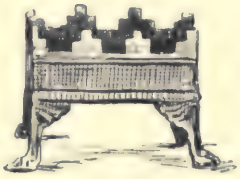
Cato advises that every evening, before going to bed, the hearth should be swept clean; and on the Kalends, Ides, and Nones of every month libations were made on the hearth, according to each man's means. Very little sufficed—a little

salt, some fruit, and wine was enough for the guardian *Lares*. It was an inexpensive cult, within the reach of all. The gods were also honoured by gestures of reverence, accompanied by prayers; the right hand was

Small bronze Braziers



Small Table (Anclabris) used as an Altar. (Naples Museum)



Small bronze Brazier

laid on the mouth to send a kiss, or the thumb was kissed and the hand extended horizontally towards the divinity invoked.* When passing

Folding Tripods for Offerings to the Gods (Naples Museum)

by a temple or an image of the gods, this mark of reverence was exacted from the pagan. The thumb was also placed on the index-finger, while the worshipper half-opened his hand and bent his head before the idol. The head, hands, and feet of the images were covered with

* This custom still survives in Southern Italy.

kisses, a practice which gradually wore away parts of the most venerated statues.*

Besides these *lararia*, there were others of a more individual and personal character, that proclaimed the professions of their owners. Thus, in the *Vico di Balbo*, there is a curious painting showing that the master of the house let out animals for hire. In one of the walls there is a niche, on the back of which is painted a woman riding on an ass and carrying an infant in swaddling-clothes. The woman is, of course, Epona, the patron goddess of muleteers, though at the first glance she seems to have been plagiarised from some picture of the Flight into Egypt. Beneath the niche is painted a man leading an ass and a mule; below again is the symbolic serpent.

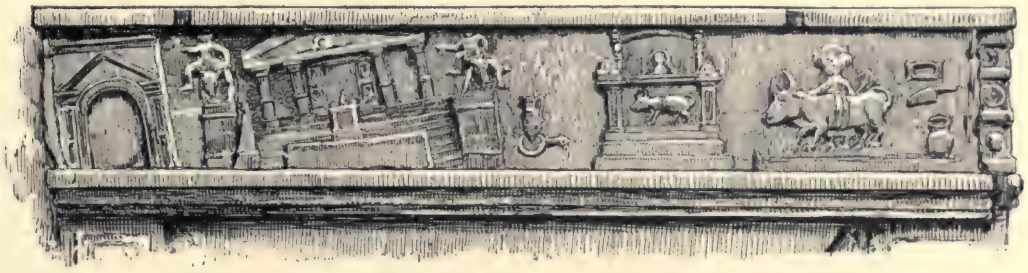
Altar dedicated to Epona (Painting in a House in the Vico di Balbo)

Farther on, in the *atrium* of the banker Jucundus, there is a marble altar with a bas-relief representing the Temple of Jupiter shaken by the earthquake of the year 63; a bull is about to be sacrificed to Venus to propitiate the anger of the gods.

Another house in Pompei, known as the *Casa del Centenario*, contains a *lararium* which has part of its raised table (the abacus) hollowed out in

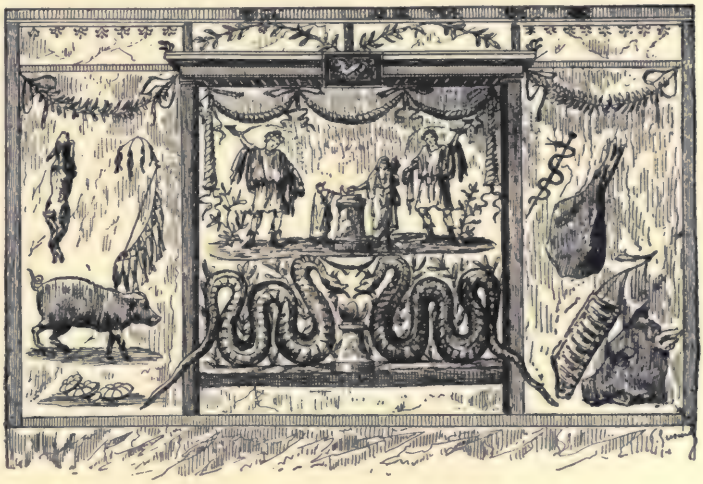
* *Cf.*, in our own times, the feet of the statue of St. Peter at Rome.

the form of a *patera*. The mural decoration of the *lararium* contains some curious details. Bacchus is represented in strange attire, wearing a long green tunic covered with bunches of black grapes. The god holds in his left hand a thyrsus wreathed with vine-branches and decorated with



Marble Bas-relief of the Lararium of Jucundus

the *mitra;* with his right hand he pours out wine from a *cantharus* for a panther who lies at his feet.* In the background is a high mountain wooded with parasol pines, except at the summit; and at the foot of the mountain are trellises, propped by stakes, on which vines are trained, just as they are grown to-day in the country round Rome. This mountain may be intended for Vesuvius before the eruption of the year 79. The famous wine of this district is now known by the name of Lacryma-Christi.



Altar to Fornax (Painting)

Bacchus is here the God of the Grape, whose blood is changed into wine, and all this symbolism seems to show that the man who lived in the *Casa del Centenario* was the owner of large vineyards. In the middle of the pediment over the *lararium* is an owl, the symbol of Minerva, patroness of fullers.†

* The panther, as the most fiery of animals, was sacred to Bacchus.

† See *Gazette arch.* 1880, and Niccolini.

In this painting we can trace nearly all the details given by Strabo and Plutarch,* and follow the main outlines of Vesuvius, the greatest change in which is due to the cone of ashes now on the mountain. This painting is the only reliable authority we have for the original shape of the volcano.

Lararium dedicated to Bacchus. Painting in the Casa del Centenario (Naples Museum)

Two other *lararia* remain to be noticed. One was found in a kitchen placed under the protection of the goddess Fornax, the patroness of stoves and ovens. A figure of Abundance is here surrounded by a hare, a pig, a fish, loaves, &c., all placed under the protection of the goddess to ensure success in cooking: it would seem that the complaisant *Lares* even presided over the dinners of their *protégés!*

The other altar was discovered in 1895 in the House of the Vettii, one of the richest houses in Pompei. It is covered with stucco ornaments in red, blue, and yellow; on the pediment are sculptured and painted a *patera!* the cranium of an ox, and the sacrificial knife. The central figure in the picture is the genius of the master of the house, wearing a toga, his head veiled like that of a priest sacrificing a victim. He holds the *patera* and the *acerra;* on either side of him stand the *Lares pocillatores.* Beneath them

* See Part I.

are represented the *genius loci* and the egg given as an offering. From the attributes on the pediment and the priestly aspect of the central figure, it seems possible that the Vettii intended some allusion to the rites of the *tauroboles* (sacrifice of a bull), instituted in honour of Cybele and her lover Atys. The most ancient known inscription referring to these sacrifices is dated 133 A.D. It was found in the outskirts of Naples, and records that "a woman, Herennia Fortunata, had accomplished, for the second time, the sacrifice of the *tauroboli* by the ministrations of the priest Ti. Claudius." *

Lararium of the House of the Vettii (Stucco and Painting)

Under Hadrian these rites were extensively practised, and they had been introduced in Rome as early as Pompey's time. We may conjecture that the custom, imported from the East with the cult of Mithra, gained ground at an early date in Campania, but hitherto no authentic proof of this has been found in Pompei.

* Boissier, *La Religion romaine.*

# XI

## CHRISTIANITY AT POMPEI—THE AUREOLES OF DIVINITIES AND THE WINGS OF GENII—THE FASCINUM—THE EVIL EYE—CHARMS AND AMULETS—SACRED TREES

HAD Christianity found its way to Pompei? It is difficult to say. It is possible that there were Christians in the city, since they were numerous enough in Rome to be tortured and thrown to wild beasts in the amphitheatre; and as St. Paul landed at Puteoli, a town not far from Pompei, and remained there seven days, the doctrine of peace and charity may well have travelled to the other side of the Bay. The archæologist De Rossi quotes the following electoral inscription found at Pompei:

CVSPIVM · PANSAM
ÆD · FABIVS · EVPOR · PRINCEPS ·
LIBERTINORVM*

*I.e.*, "Fabius Eupor, prince of the freedmen, votes for Cuspius Pansa as ædile."

De Rossi† proves that the "freedmen" of this inscription were members of the Jewish Synagogue which bore this name, and which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as the *Synagoga quæ appellatur libertinorum.* He is also of opinion that Christianity became known at Pompei by means of the Jews, and Egger‡ mentions some Semitic *graffiti* found on the columns of the Forum. Moreover, some allusions to passages in the Bible have been discovered: the words *Sodoma* and *Gomora* written

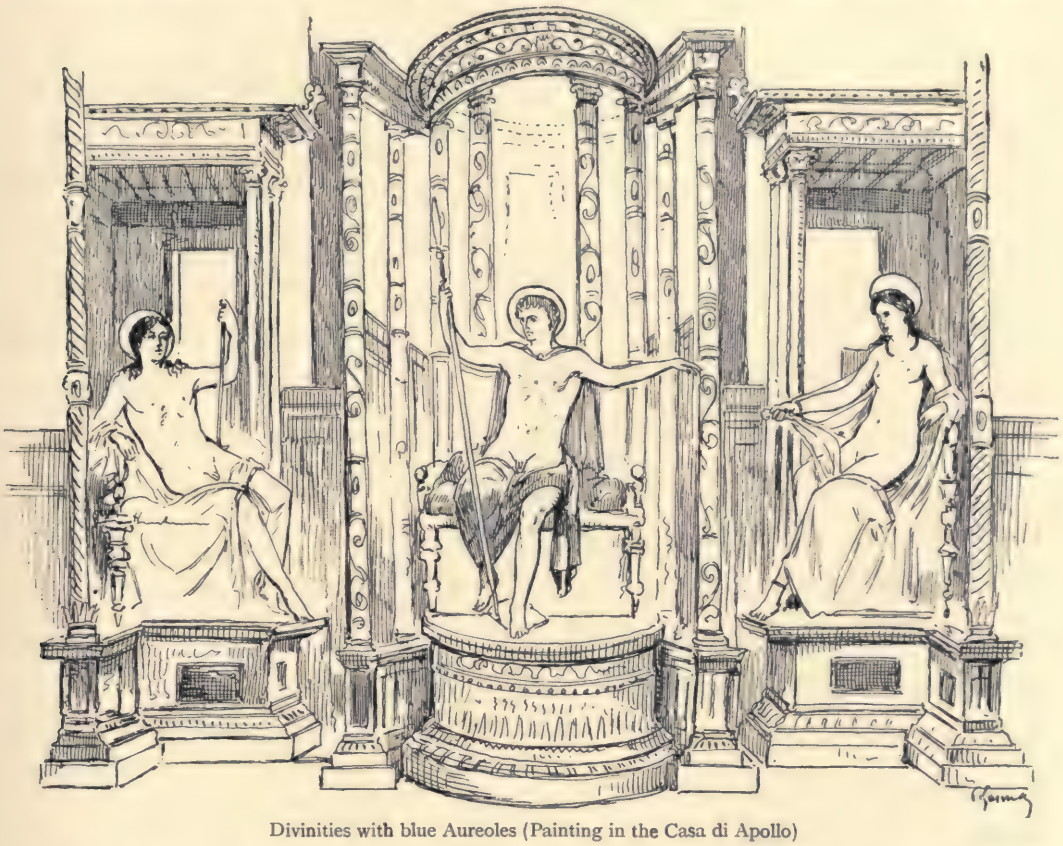
* Corp. insc. pomp. 117.

† J. B. De Rossi, *Bulletino di Archeologica cristiana*, 1864.

‡ *Journal des Savants*, 1881.

on a wall, and parodies of the Judgment of Solomon and the Story of Jonah (see Part VI.).

Two inscriptions written in charcoal have been found at Pompei. One of these, which is now almost completely effaced, was found in 1862



Divinities with blue Aureoles (Painting in the Casa di Apollo)

on the walls of a room in the Street of Stabiæ, and was read and transcribed by Fiorelli, Minervini, and Kiessling:

*Audivi Christianos*

*Sævos olores**

De Rossi sees in this inscription an allusion to the psalms sung by the Christians on their way to martyrdom, and a comparison of their voices with the death-song of the swan.

The other inscription is very imperfect; it was written on a white-washed wall in the street of the *Balcone pensile.*

It is curious to note how the Christians, in the exercise of their rites,

* See Corp. insc. pomp. 679.

Hercules and Auge (Painting in the House of the Vettii)

borrowed all that could be reconciled with their own dogmas and moral code from the Pagans. The various elements of ritual are always identical in the two religions—lustral water, purifying ablutions, priestly vestments, aspersions of water, censers, fasts, abstinences, processions, and so on. Even in the Catacombs at Rome the Christian paintings are often at first a mere imitation of Pagan originals, and the Good Shepherd is but a transformed Orpheus.* Religious beliefs have always been expressed in symbols, and as the object of all religions is the same —to raise the soul to the Creator—anthropomorphic analogies necessarily arose.

Ariadne guarded by a Genius (Painting in a house in the Vico di Tesmo)

Aureoles and nimbi were borrowed from representations of the gods in Pagan art.† At Pompei there are many paintings where Jupiter, Apollo,

* See Part VI. Painting representing Orpheus.

† The discs that encircle the heads of certain ancient statues were only used to protect them from birds. A symbolic meaning was gradually attached to this protective disc, which became a nimbus or aureole, an emblem of divinity.

Diana, and Venus have their heads encircled with a blue or yellow aureole, as a sign of their divine nature and their sojourn in the land of light. Jupiter has the largest aureole, and rays of light stream from the head of Apollo; Diana wears an aureole, but more frequently a crescent. Even the genii have this ornamental disc, but it is blue in colour, as in a painting in the House of the Vettii representing a drunken Hercules and Auge; a genius with outspread wings and an angel's face appears to act as a guardian spirit.

Bronze Victory of Pompei (Naples Museum)

The wings of these genii were afterwards given to those guardian spirits called by the Christians "guardian angels." Another painting shows Ariadne deserted and asleep under the protection of a winged genius who recalls the angels of Christian art, and probably represents the *genius albus* of Horace—the Angel of Life who disputes the possession of men with the *genius ater*, the Angel of Death.* The wings of the genii give them a somewhat less material appearance and symbolise their swift activity and their vigilance in the accomplishment of the tasks assigned them by the gods, from whom they are an emanation. "They follow man wheresoever he goes, to guard him: they are the close companions of his life and the rulers of his destiny." †

Victory (Painting in the Casa di Castore e Polluce)

Mercury, the messenger of the gods, had small wings bound on his *pilos* and his buskins, and Victory hovers over armies with wings that are an emblem of her inconstancy. For this

* Martha, *Archéologie étrusque.* L. H. May.

† Horace, *Ep.* II. 2.

reason the Greeks preferred her *wingless*, so that she could not escape them. Eros (Love), Eris (Discord), and Phobos (Fear), the personified passions of men, were also winged, to symbolise their swift and certain influence.* Iris, the messenger, the personification of the rainbow, is also represented at Pompei in the form of a young girl, winged, and wearing a blue aureole.

All these personifications had their origin in the timidity of humanity and the natural desire for protection. It was generally believed that the lives of men were beset by dangers that an evil genius placed in their paths; and the ills of life were thus multiplied by man himself, who

Amulets against the Evil Eye (Naples Museum)

peopled existence with chimæras bent on his destruction. *Fascination* was a crowning source of terror. The *Fascinum* was an influence emanating from a person either deliberately or unconsciously, and is essentially the same as the Italian *jettatura*. There were certain people who were found to bring misfortune on those around them and to "cross" events in which they had taken a part. This mysterious influence was called by many names, and the evil eye was one of the most dangerous of its manifestations. It acted like a spell cast on a person who was unable to defend himself from the evil influence that dominated him. The evil eye was also attributed to insects. Among the Romans the praying mantis was supposed to bewitch men, while a figure representing the insect had power to ward off the evil eye. At the present day the ladybird is supposed to bring good fortune, like the spider seen in the evening, which is as lucky as the spider seen in the morning is disastrous.

All evil spirits, however, were exorcised by an equivocal gesture preserved in bronze hands found in Pompei. This was what was called

* Max Collignon, *Mythologie figurée*. L. H. May.

*making the fig:* the right hand was shut, the thumb inserted between the first and second finger, and the whole hand pointed in the direction of the danger.

Other conventional signs with the fingers produced the same effect. A token representing a hand shows a particular gesture used to exorcise the evil eye and preserve the owner of the amulet. A great number of amulets have been found at Pompei, generally accompanied by phallic tokens of bronze, glass, lapis-lazuli, and amber.* Besides these emblems

Small Bells (Naples Museum)

of a licentious character, there were others used on the signs of shops at Pompei, to ward off the evil eye; for instance, the bakehouse *of Felicity*, as it is called, was safe from the *fascinum*; † the figure of a man stooping in a significant attitude exorcised the evil spirit, and men spat upon their breasts, or on the breasts of others, to terrify and insult an enemy with the evil eye. An eye was also frequently painted or carved on various objects to ward off hostile glances.

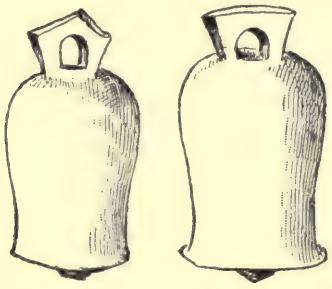
Bells were also used as a means of protection, and are frequently found attached to *phalli.* They were rung in Bacchic and Corybantic religious ceremonies, and in the rites of the Cabeiri.‡ Animals wore bells,

* Magic properties were attributed to coral and amber in antiquity. Children wore amulets of these substances round their necks, and there is a collection of them at the Naples Museum. At the present day, in Southern Italy, the teeth of animals or children, branches of coral, death's-heads, hands, and dwarfs of mother-of-pearl are amulets against the *jettatura.*

† See Part IV.

‡ Roux et Barré, *Herculanum et Pompéi.*

and they were used to protect herds of cattle. Bells were rung during the eclipses of the moon, or when criminals were led to execution; they were also hung up on the doors of brothels, and were used in the house, to give notice of meals and to summon slaves.

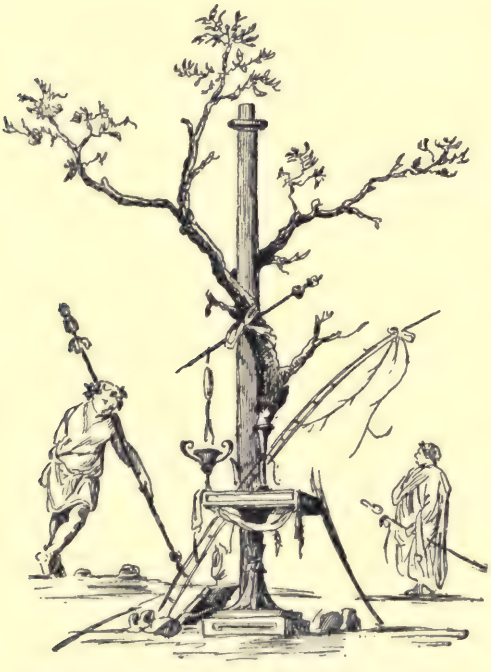


Small Bells (Museum of Pompei)

Among the various curiosities of religion and superstition in Pompei we must not omit to mention some paintings of a peculiar character, representing trees decorated by emblems used in religious rites.

Rustic Altar and Sacred Tree (Painting in the Naples Museum)

The villages of the ancients had not temples like the towns, and, with the exception of certain sanctuaries that were held in special veneration, and built on some sacred spot chosen by the gods, the rustic population only possessed shrines which stood at the cross-roads where there was a sacred tree. These shrines were frequently dedicated to Diana Trivia, to whom tapers were brought as offerings.* Pliny tells us that trees must have been men's first temples, as stones were their first gods, and certain plants, fruits, or trees were sacred to each divinity. The oak was Jove's tree, the laurel was sacred to Apollo, the olive-tree to Minerva, the myrtle to Venus, the poplar to Hercules, and so on. Certain trees



Altar to Bacchus and Sacred Tree (Painting in the Naples Museum)

* Propertius II. 2.

were endowed with special virtues; the laurel was the most sacred, for it was used in lustral ablutions, and was spared by Jove himself.

Near these sacred trees there sometimes stood a column, a diminutive of the small shrine in the form of a temple in which the statue of the god was placed. Votive offerings, pictures, garlands, fillets and gifts were hung on the branches of the tree as on the walls of a temple. Trees that were struck by lightning were also the object of special veneration, and a *puteal* was built to protect the spot where one of these stood. The Pagan could therefore satisfy his religious needs at every turn. We have seen that he had no lack of protectors.

# PART III

## PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND RECREATIONS OF POMPEI

The Basilica

# I

## THE BASILICA

AS yet we have said nothing of the most important building in the Pompeian Forum.

The Basilica, a covered hall, where men of business took refuge in bad weather, was a roofed forum where matters of public interest were debated; it also served as a town-hall where the citizens of Pompei assembled, and where the duumvirs administered justice in the name of the Municipality, the Republic, or the Emperor. The Basilica was in existence in the year 676 after the founding of Rome (187 B.C.) according to the date inscribed on one of its walls. It had five entrances, near one of which the word *bassilica* is cut with a pointed instrument.

The portico which gives access to the building on the side towards the Forum is the most ancient, to judge by the well-worn tufa of the flight of steps, once decorated with statues, the marble pedestals of which still remain.

The Basilica was divided into three aisles, and the walls on each side had large openings ornamented with columns. The great pillars that supported the roof were about 218 feet high, and were built of bricks

specially prepared, and covered with stucco. Under the porticoes stood terms surmounted by marble busts, and the walls were decorated with polychrome stucco-work imitating carved ornament in relief. At the end of the Basilica was the tribunal where the magistrates sat—a stage built on a solid block of masonry. It was reached by a wooden stair no longer in existence. In front of the tribunal is a pedestal, on which a statue of gilded bronze once stood.

The walls of this much-frequented building received the confidences of the idlers and *habitués* of the place. Some of these *graffiti* have been preserved in the Naples Museum; for instance, this sentence: "*Lucrio et salus hic fuerunt*" ("This is the haunt of the idle and of the self-seeking"), and "*Quod pretium legi?*" an inscription traced by one who had apparently little faith in the law. Lines of Ovid, Virgil, and Propertius are often reproduced with slight variations:

"*Quid potè tan durum saxso aut quid mollius undâ?*
*Dura tamen molli saxsa cavantur aquâ.*"—OVID.*

Then this distich of Propertius, a good deal defaced:

"*Quisquis amator erit Scythiæ licet ambulet oris;*
*Nemo adeo est feriat barbarus esse volet.*"†

Many other inscriptions are scratched on the walls; lovers' vows are traced there, and the jests of a sot are found side by side with the exclamations of an epicure, confronting the maxims of a philosopher. The whole life of the city lies before us, and a few lines on the walls tell us the secrets of Pompei and reveal the intimate life of a vanished age.‡

These *graffiti* on the walls of the Basilica became so numerous that some Pompeian wrote this phrase:

"*Admiror, O paries, te non cecidisse ruinis*
*Qui tot scriptorum tædia sustineas.*" §

* Corp. insc. pomp. 1895.
† Corp. insc. pomp. 1950.
‡ See, in Part IV., the various *graffiti* and inscriptions.
§ Corp. insc. pomp. 1904.

("I am surprised, O wall, that you have not fallen down under the burden of so many tedious writers.")

Another building, known as the Curia, in the south part of the Forum, is of brick, and dates from the Roman period. It consists of three halls, and was used by the ædiles, duumvirs, and municipal councillors. Not far from the Curia is the *Comitium*, the voting-place during the elections.

# II

## THE FORUM

THE buildings round the Forum do not all open immediately on to the public square, for this was surrounded on three sides by a colonnade, forming a portico of the Roman Doric order, surmounted by a second portico of Ionic columns. No trace of this upper gallery now exists, though in the entablature, which still remains in places, we may see the gaps left by the beams of the flooring of the upper storey, which was reached by narrow stairs.

There were seven entrances to the Forum, closed by posts and gratings. On the paved floor stood numerous pedestals for the statues of famous men. Twenty-two of these pedestals are still in existence, and five of them bear inscriptions in honour of Pompeian magistrates and of members of the imperial family : Augustus, Claudius, Agrippina, Nero, and Caligula.

Before the time of Augustus the civil Forum* was only a square for markets, games, and public meetings, but the erection of new buildings brought about certain changes, and the original portico was reduced to a row of columns. It was in the Forum that the candidates for the municipal elections and the events of the day were discussed, and that hot debates took place in favour of the municipality, always jealous of its independence. It was the enclosure where the populace shouted and manifested, and where orators stirred up the passions of the crowd from the *pulpitum* of the Temple of Jupiter. Entertainments were also given

* Fiorelli.

in the Forum, when illuminations, paid for by the magistrates, lit up the noisy rejoicings of the mob, acclaiming the victor of the circus.

At the funeral of a citizen who had earned the gratitude of the city the procession passed through the Forum before the last halt at the tomb. This supreme honour was only granted to those whose statues were afterwards to be erected in the very heart of the city.

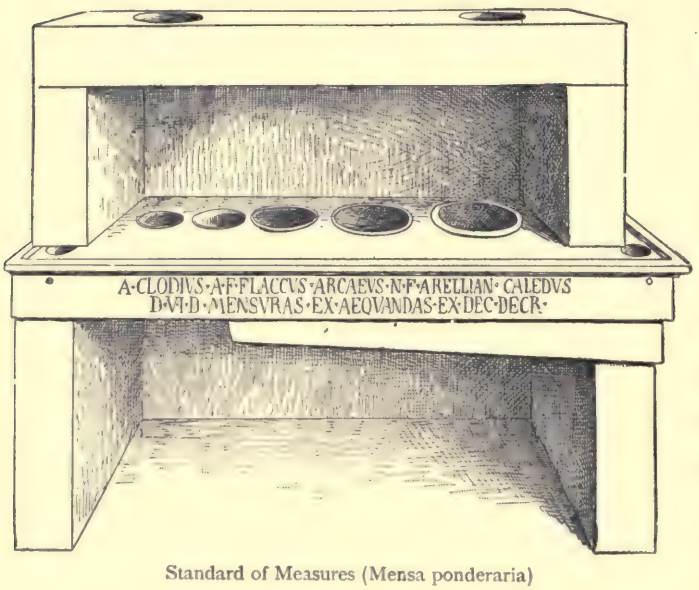
Colonnade of the Forum

In front of the *macellum*, the Forum is lined with little stalls, which must have been let at a high rent. Money changers, jewellers, and bankers carried on business under the portico, where strolling vendors, selling refreshments and the trifles of the hour, importuned the *forenses*, the loungers and *habitués* of this crowded centre of the city. Notices of entertainments were posted up there, as we see in a picture in the Naples Museum, just as advertisements and inscriptions arrested the passers-by on the white stuccoed walls of the Building of Eumachia.

Shops, large public *latrinæ* draining into the sewer, a prison, and a standard of measures were situated in this Forum, on the same side as the

The Forum

Temple of Apollo. As to the public treasury, the *Ærarium*, it is supposed to have been situated beneath the *podium* of the Temple of Jupiter.*




Standard of Measures (Mensa ponderaria)

This temple is flanked by two triumphal arches. That on the right, the more important, was erected to the memory of Tiberius; the bronze statue of the Emperor that once crowned it has been discovered. Another arch, placed in the axis of this, and formerly surmounted by a

* Overbeck-Mau.

statue of Caligula, enframes the mountain of Vesuvius in its slender span. The marble casing of this arch has almost entirely disappeared, and its core of brickwork shows golden in the glowing sunlight.

The picture is simple yet grandiose in its beauty in springtime, when the pure fresh air wreathes the outline of the volcano with a veil of transparent azure. But when the rains of autumn darken Vesuvius and saturate its ashes, the heavy mass of the mountain seems to advance

Arch of Tiberius (?)

threateningly against the city, overpowering the delicate harmonies of its rose-coloured bricks and grey skies; while the *sirocco* chases from the mountain-crest the low white clouds of smoke that seem to crawl along it when undisturbed. Towards evening, again, when the sky is swept clean by the breeze and the setting sun draws long shadows in the city, Pompei wraps herself in half tones as in a veil.

At the sound of a distant bell all the visitors and tourists leave the city, and in privileged solitude we may linger and prolong the dream.

The Arch of the Street of Mercury

The hot air rises from the walls and the ground and passes by in gusts, like warm caresses; the city takes on a mystic beauty, its faint outlines dimly seen in the gathering gloom. A new Pompei seems to "rise like an exhalation"; the houses fill out; the sense of ruin passes away; ghostly silhouettes arise; the illusion is startling, and the city seems to live again as it dies into the night.

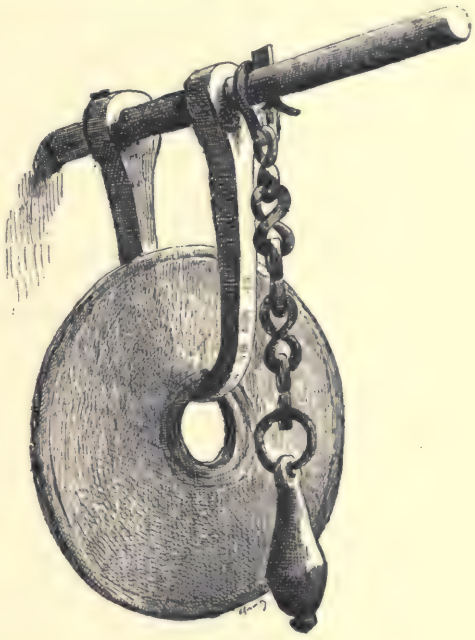
Bronze Statue of Tiberius (?) (Naples Museum)

But we must go, or we shall lose our way in this labyrinth of streets. The cadenced beat of our footsteps on the lava flagstones echoes in the sonorous alleys; the spell of the place and hour is upon us, and, passing by the silent houses, we carry away with us a gleam from the inextinguishable past.

# III

## THE BATHS OF THE FORUM—STRIGILS AND UNGUENTS—DEPILATION

LET us return to the beneficent sunshine and the delights it engendered at Pompei. The effeminate Pompeian, like every true Campanian, enjoyed to the full all the resources of a city of pleasure. The important part played by baths in Roman civilisation is well known. Pompei seems to have been well provided in this respect, and the baths that have been discovered—four *thermæ*—bear witness to the utmost refinement and luxury.



A Bell (Naples Museum)

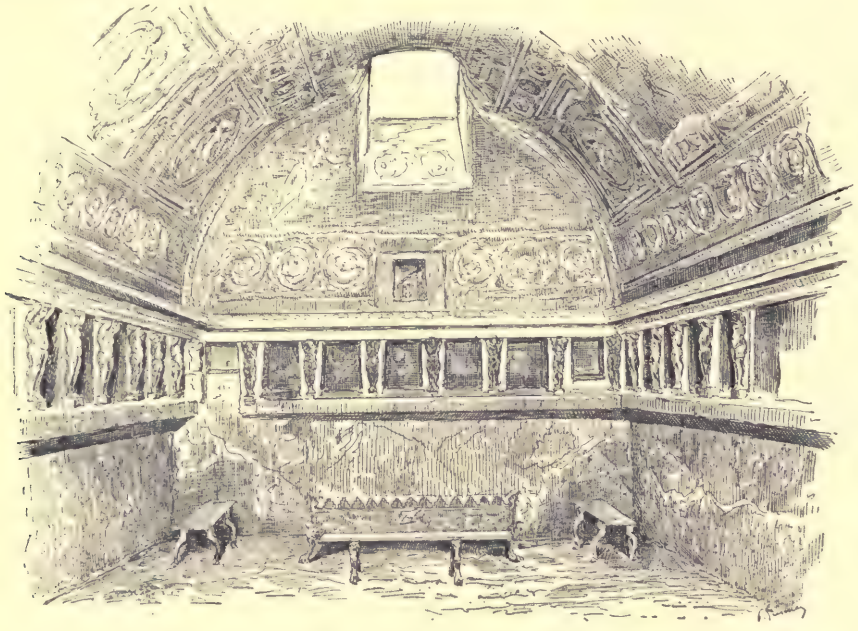
The baths were often the meeting-place of the idle and the pastime of libertines; indeed, hydropathy often proved harmful to the profligates who frequented them in search of a remedy after their excesses, and sudden death in the *thermæ* from congestion was no unusual end to a life of dissipation. Suppers were occasionally taken at the baths, and various amusements gave additional attraction to these resorts, where unceremonious enjoyment was the order of the day.

The ancients were in the habit of bathing immediately after a meal, a dangerous custom in many cases. Thus Juvenal* says: "A swift punish-

* Juvenal, *Sat.* I.

ment follows hard on your gluttony, when, gorged with food, your stomach loaded with an undigested peacock, you hasten from the table to throw off your clothes and plunge into the bath."

A small sum, a *quadrans*, was paid for entrance to the baths, as Horace tells us: "Proud as a king, you will go and bathe for a farthing."* Every one brought their own utensils for use in the *thermæ*—their strigils, towels, and *unguentaria*.



The Tepidarium of the Baths of the Forum

The baths of the Forum, inaugurated about the year 5 A.D., were reached by a corridor where a great number of lamps were found, which leads us to suppose that the Pompeians habitually bathed in the evening as well as in the daytime. At sunrise a bell announced that the baths were open, but the fashionable hour was later in the day.

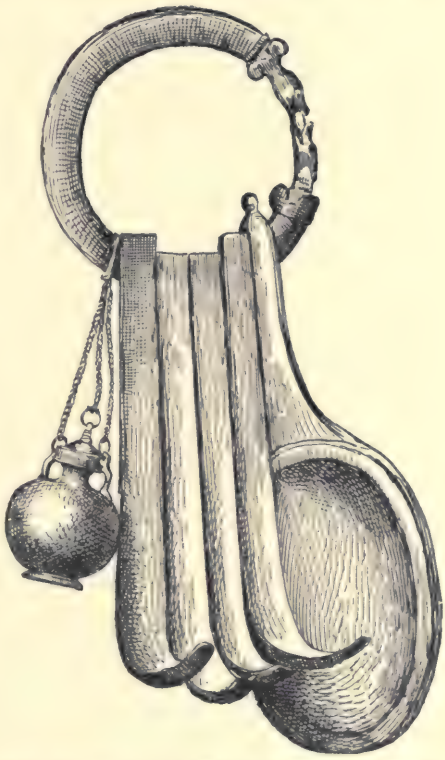
The *apodyterium* was the room where the bathers undressed, and left their clothes and perfumes in recessed cupboards in the walls, to prevent them from being stolen. The mode of bathing varied according to the time of year and individual taste, but the hot bath was taken before the cold, which was cooled with snow in summer.

* Horace, Book I. *Sat.* III.

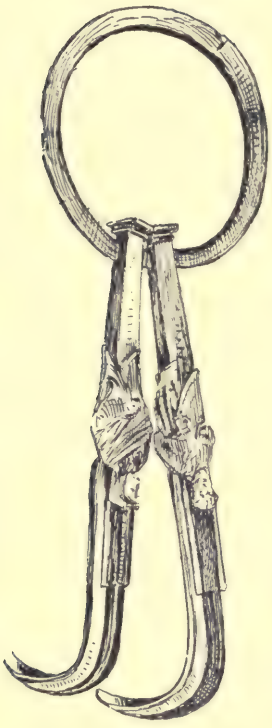
The next room was the *tepidarium*. It has an arched roof, ornamented

The Caldarium of the Baths of the Forum

with delicate stucco-work, where Loves, chimæras, and birds stand out in relief against a red and blue background, with a very fresh and brilliant effect. The walls are red, and these, too, contain cupboards surmounted by a cornice resting on terra-cotta Atlantes. Arabesques, mouldings, and mosaics give a peculiarly rich effect to this room. It has also a bronze brazier, on which is represented a small cow, in allusion to the name of the donor, the Pompeian *Nisidius Vaccula;* bronze seats with cow's feet are placed round the brazier, where the bathers sat to warm themselves. As this *tepidarium* was also used as an *apodyterium*, it is very probable that it was the favourite haunt of the idlers of the city in the winter,



The Instruments of a Tractator (Naples Museum)



Strigils (Naples Museum)

and that they came there to stroll and talk in the warm atmosphere, out of the wind.

The *caldarium* or *sudatorium*, where the walls are hollow, as may be seen in one of our drawings, served to store the warm air from the heating apparatus, and the floor is built on the same system, and raised above the ground. At the end of the hall there is a large marble basin, the *labrum*, where the bathers dipped their head and hands in cold water to refresh themselves.

The *frigidarium*, which has a glazed window to keep away draughts, is merely a rotunda, in the centre of which is a deep *piscina*, filled by means of a brass spout.

After the bath, the *tractator* came to rub and chafe the bathers, and strigils, the best of which came from

Various Utensils in use in the Baths (*unguentaria, alabastra,* &c.) (Naples Museum)

Pergamum, were used to scrape away the sweat and render the skin soft and smooth. "A man who knows how to use the strigils," writes

1. A NAVAL ENGAGEMENT — 2. VINTAGE — 3. WINE

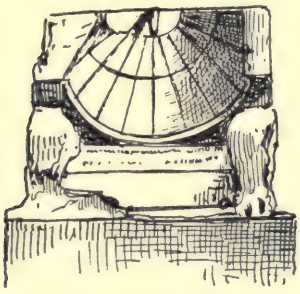
(PAINTINGS IN THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII)

Martial, "saves in the washing of his linen." Unguents were afterwards sprinkled drop by drop from the *alabastrum;* the body was lightly rubbed with swansdown, and together with the hair and the clothes of the bather, scented with oriental nard. Depilation was also practised at the *thermæ*, and took up a considerable time. A paste composed of arsenic and slaked lime was applied to the whole of the body, after which the razor and pumice-stone were used. The *alipili*, of the corporation of barbers, were skin doctors: their reputation for gossip was so great, that a client, on being asked by one of them how he wished his hair removed, answered, "In silence!"

# IV

## THE STABIAN THERMÆ AND THE PALÆSTRA

THE other *thermæ* in Pompei, known as the *Baths of Stabiæ*, were originally founded by the Oscans. They are richly decorated, though not so richly as the baths of the Forum, and have several annexes. They are entered by a *palæstra* with a sun-dial, on which is cut an Oscan inscription to the effect that the quæstor Atinius, son of Marius, had caused it to be erected in obedience to a decree of the Assembly, and that before Augustus' reign the same magistrate had restored the baths with revenues drawn from fines.

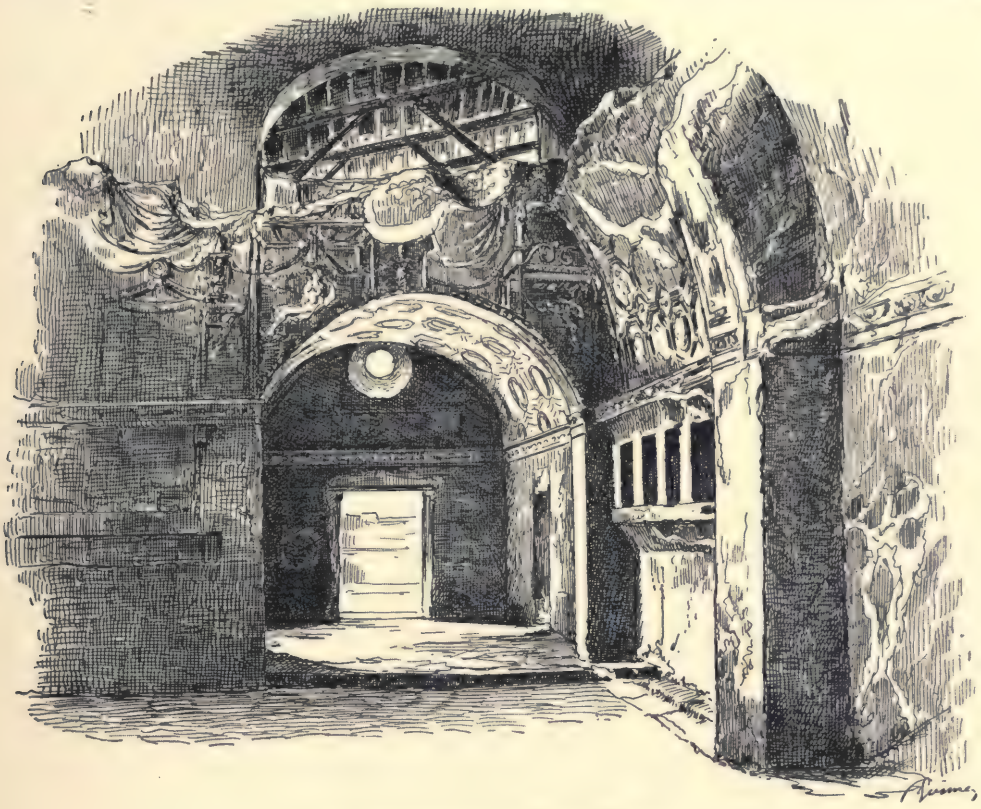


The Sun-dial of the Stabian Thermæ

The building was embellished under the duumvirs Caius Vulius and Publius Aninius, and after the earthquake of the year 63 it was enlarged and divided into two parts, each of which had a separate entrance, though the smaller portion communicated with the *palæstra* of the larger baths, and the same heating apparatus was used for both. Many writers suppose that the smaller baths were reserved for women, but in Pompei, where manners were lax, men and women bathed in common, and the smaller baths may have been reserved for the lower orders. It was not until the reign of Hadrian that the separation of the sexes was ordered as a means towards the revival of ancient rules and a stricter morality.

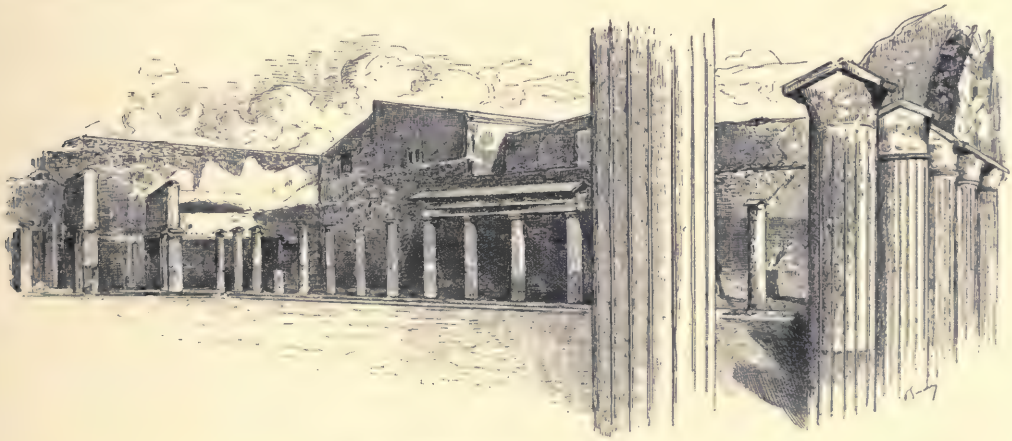
The main building of the *thermæ* is reached by a vestibule, decorated

with stucco ornaments in relief, representing a Cupid, a Bacchante, a hedge-



The Apodyterium of the Baths of Stabiæ

hog, a dolphin, and a swan; traces of the ancient gilding may still be seen on the azure background.



The Palæstra of the Stabian Thermæ

The *apodyterium*, divided into two unequal parts, is decorated with mythological subjects; among them, a Venus and two Hermaphrodites in

stucco relief. The *caldarium* and *tepidarium* are not in good preservation, and nothing remains of the hollow floor but the small brick pillars. There are other rooms attached to the *thermæ*, and in one of these was found a bronze brazier presented by Nisidius Vaccula, whose name we have seen on a similar brazier in the baths of the Forum.

Ephebus leaning on a Trochus
(Stucco in the Naples Museum)

The smaller baths contain, besides other rooms, a *baptisterium*, a *tepidarium*, and a *caldarium*.

In the *palæstra* of the Stabian *thermæ* the *area* is surrounded on three sides by a portico, while the fourth is occupied by swimming-baths, the outer walls of which are covered with bas-reliefs of coloured stucco. Traces of cupboards let into the walls are still to be seen here; two large balls used in the game of *sphæra* have also been discovered, and money-boxes containing various small coins. Throwing the *discus*, the use of the *halteres*, and fencing with wooden swords, were amongst the various amusements of the *palæstra*, where wrestling matches and races were held. Some runners were provided with hoops, as we see in a stucco relief representing a beautiful youth, naked and leaning upon his *trochus*.

# V

## THE SMALL THERMÆ AND THE MUNICIPAL PALÆSTRA

AT Pompei the small *thermæ* constituted a special private establishment, containing, still intact in parts, a space reserved for gymnastic exercises, in addition to the various rooms used for the baths.*

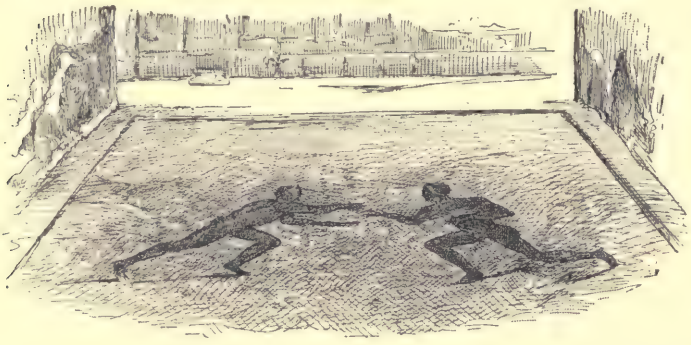
The site of the *thermæ* bears some resemblance to that of the Villas of Crassus Frugi and Diomedes. Like these, the small *thermæ* lie on the slope of the hill of tufa on which the city stands; numerous flights of steps connect the plateau above with the valley beneath, giving access at intervals to delightful terraces looking to the south.

From the street can be seen the pavement of the *prothyrum*, with its mosaic of two wrestlers, in black upon a white ground. One of the various paintings on the walls of the hall used for gymnastic exercises represents a professional wrestler, with huge muscular arms and a brutal head. He has just overcome his opponent, who is stretched face downwards on the ground, apparently in a piteous plight, while the victor, without loosening his grip, receives the prize from the President of the Games.

In another panel we see a young man standing with a strigil in his hand, like some ancient statue of an *Apoxyomenos*. Another picture represents a youth who has won a fencing-match; he holds a palm-branch and a shield. Farther on a man, wearing the *pallium*, carries in his hand an object which is probably a small chaplet of flowers. These chaplets, which

* Strabo says that Naples, though it had become Roman, still kept up Greek customs, and had its *ephebia*, its *gymnasia*, and its *phratriæ*. This was also the case at Pompei.

were used as crowns, may be seen in several paintings in Pompei, representing Cupids selling flowers and garlands.



The Mosaic of the Prothyrum of the small Thermæ

Athletes were of two classes, the *light* and the *heavy* athletes. The former practised wrestling, boxing, and the *pancratium*, the latter all varieties of exercises, both heavy and light; and these were considered the more accomplished. If at the age of thirty-five an athlete had not gained a crown, he left the profession. These athletes were obliged to live by rule.* They ate a special kind

Wrestlers (a Painting)

of bread and took compulsory meals, after which they received injections.† They were recommended to eat slowly and to chew their food well, in order to become robust. Their usual diet was bread and roast pork,

* Athletes, to keep up their strength, ate a very nourishing kind of bread (*coliphia*), of a peculiar shape, which was sold in the streets of Rome. (Martial.)

† Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Athleta.

sprinkled with aniseed; they only drank wine after they had slaked their thirst with water.

The life of these professional athletes was not an elevating or intellectual one; it developed the body only, all its care being directed to the perfecting of the human animal. Gallienus* sums up their existence in a few words: "To eat, drink, sleep, purge the stomach, and wallow in the dust and mud." Nevertheless, the training of the gymnasium produced very fine specimens of manhood, especially when intellectual culture was combined with this salutary exercise.

After the Wrestling Match (Painting)

Athlete using a Strigil (Painting)

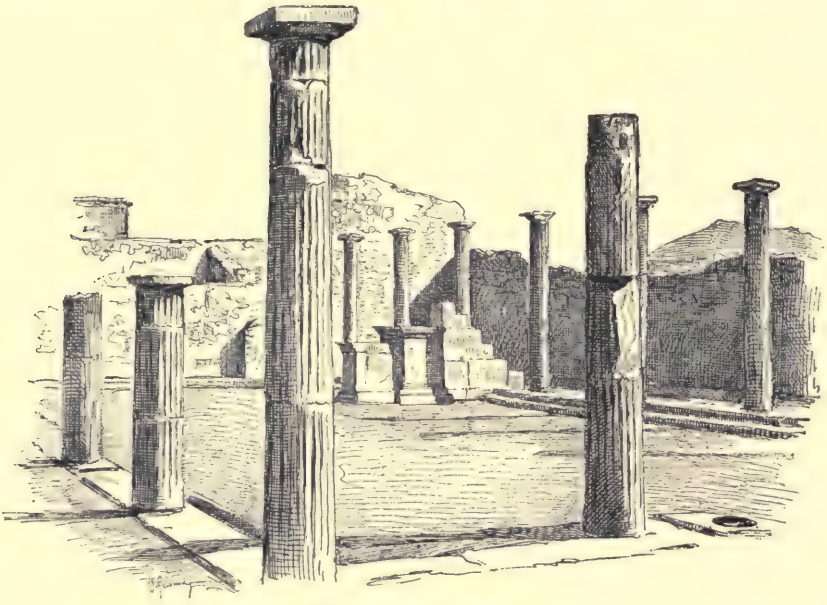
Pompei also possessed a municipal *palæstra*, adjoining the Temple of Isis, and incorrectly called the *Curia Isiaca*. It consisted of a large court surrounded by a portico, where the *Doryphoros* of the Naples Museum† was found. This building dates from the Samnite period, but was reduced in size when the Temple of Isis was rebuilt. An Oscan inscription records that Vibius Vinicius, a quæstor of Pompei, built the *palæstra* for the youth of the city, at the expense of Vibius Adiramus, and in accordance with his will. In the *area*, which is open to the sky,

Victorious Fencer (Painting)

* Gall. *Hymn.* 37, V.

† See Part VI., iii. 2.

stands a marble socle or base on which the prizes given to the victors in the various contests were placed. It was the custom for the victors to



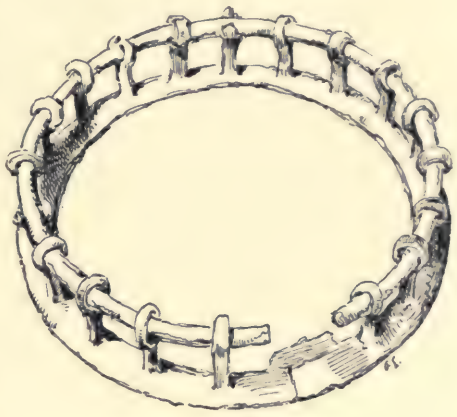
The Municipal Palæstra

mount the few steps we still see to crown Mercury, the patron of the *palæstra*, whose statue probably stood on the pedestal which is still in existence.

# VI

## THE BARRACKS OF THE GLADIATORS—PLAY-BILLS—THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE NUCERIANS AND POMPEIANS

THE barracks of the gladiators lie in the direction of the valley of the Sarnus; helmets and arms, a saddle, and some musical instruments in use in the amphitheatre have been discovered on the spot. The barracks consist of a great courtyard surrounded by a quadrangular portico of one hundred columns; in this space the gladiators practised before the contests; the sixty cells beneath the colonnade were occupied by gladiators on the days of the games. The colonnade supported an upper storey, forming a balcony in front connecting the various rooms.



Fetters (Naples Museum)

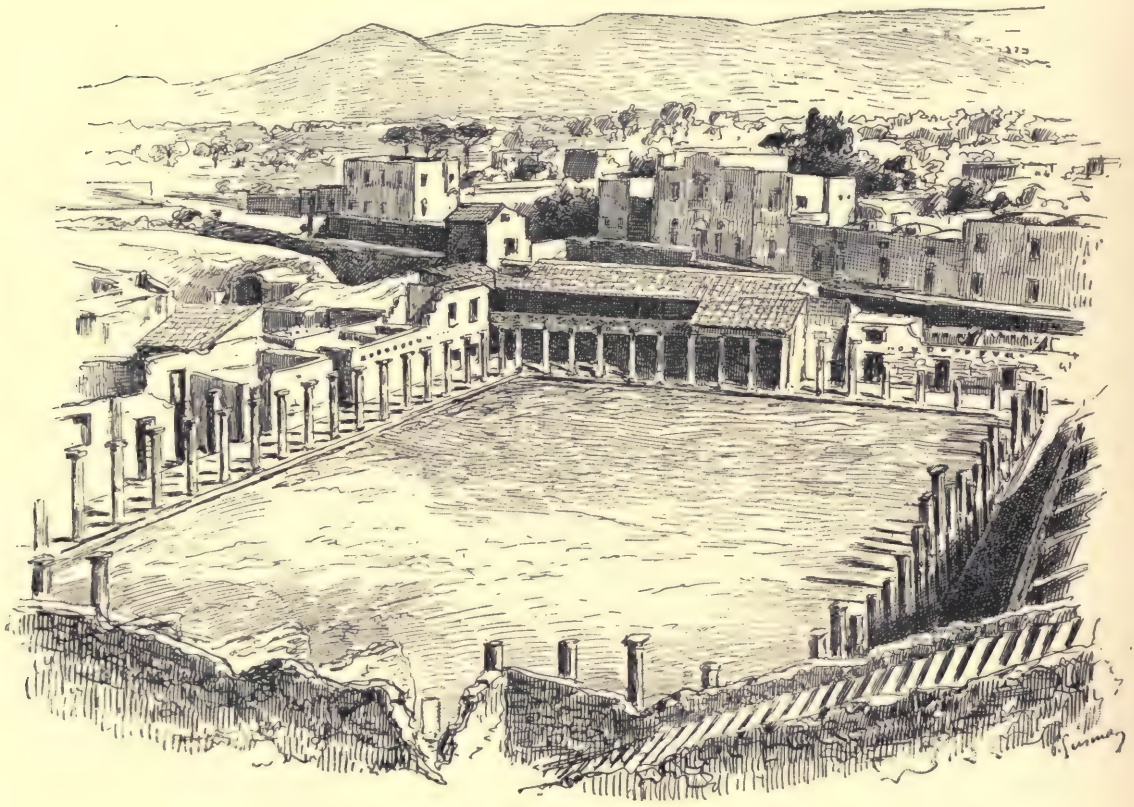
Fetters (Naples Museum)

Part of the building was used as a prison, and here several skeletons were found, the leg-bones encircled by iron fetters.*

On the columns of the portico, covered with inscriptions scratched with

* Sixty-three skeletons were found in the barracks.

a pointed instrument, we find compliments addressed to the gladiators: *Rustico feliciter! Bis victor libertus! Victor Veneri parmam feret!* and so on. Among the most important *graffiti* of the combatants of the amphitheatre is a sketch representing a Samnite gladiator; by his side his thirty-two victories are recorded, and a palm and crown are cut. In a lane close by, between the two theatres, another *graffito* has preserved the barbarous



The Barracks of the Gladiators

names of *Viriotalus*, *Sequanus*, *Viriodus*, and others; a fabulous score of victories is recorded against their names.

There is a curious drawing of this kind, on which is the inscription: *Campani, Victoriâ unà cum Nucerinis peristis** ("Campanians, by your victory you have undone yourselves as well as the Nucerians"). We read in Tacitus that in the year 59 A.D. a certain Livineius Regulus gave a gladiatorial display at Pompei to which the people of the neighbouring

* Corp. insc. pomp. 1293.

town of Nuceria were invited, but the day ended in a general brawl, in which a great number of Nucerians were killed. The people of Nuceria made complaint to Nero, and the Roman Senate decreed that there should be no more contests in the amphitheatre at Pompei for ten years. Hence the *graffito*, which was evidently

Graffito

Graffito

traced by a Nucerian. A more explicit document in this connection is furnished by a rude painting discovered in the city, which represents the actual *mêlée*. It shows the amphitheatre, with the combatants fighting in the arena, on the seats, and on the steps; the Nucerians fall on every side, mortally wounded. Round the amphitheatre there are trees and various buildings,* among them small open-air booths, sheltered from the wind by *vela*, where hot and cold drinks were sold. Two men are represented carrying the litter (*lectica*) used by luxurious people, and women, to take them to the shows, which were announced several days beforehand by notices on the *album*. On a wall near the house known as the *Casa del Centenario*,

Graffito

* Excavations might be made here, to follow up this indication.

was the following notice: "Twenty couples of gladiators, paid by Decimus Lucretius Satrius Valens, priest of Nero, the son of Augustus Cæsar, and ten couples of gladiators, paid by Decimus Lucretius Valens, will fight at Pompei on April 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th (vi., v., iv., iii.,

Fight of the Pompeians and Nucerians (Naples Museum)

PR. IDVS APR). There will be a hunt, and the awning will be spread." (This last detail is shown in the painting of the fight with the Nucerians.)

At the bottom of the notice, the writer, Æmilius Celer, informs us that the inscription was made by moonlight* (AD LVNA.)

Other notices of gladiatorial combats are written on the *album* of the

* These dates correspond to those in the Roman calendar set apart for games. In Pompei, a verification of these dates has been found for the month of April. *The sixth day of the Ides* was for games celebrated in honour of Cæsar's victories; *the fifth day of the Ides* for games in honour of Ceres; *the fourth day of the Ides*, games of the circus; *the third day of the Ides*, games of the circus; *the day before the Ides*, games in honour of Ceres. Shows in the amphitheatre also took place in September, from the *Eve of the Nones* to *the third day of the Ides* (eight days).

Building of Eumachia. In one of them we read that "the band of gladiators of the ædile Aulus Svetius Certus will fight at Pompei on the eve of the Kalends of June; there will be a hunt, and the awning will be used."

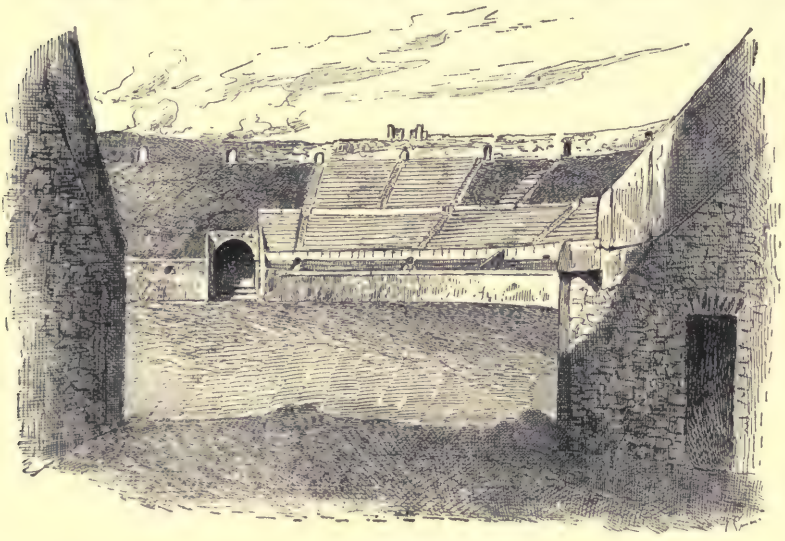
A · SVETTI · CERTI
ÆDILIS · FAMILIA · GLADATORIA · PVGNAB ·
POMPEIS · PR · K · IVNIAS · VENATIO
ET · VELA · ERUNT.*

* Corp. insc. pomp. 1189.

# VII

## THE AMPHITHEATRE—THE GLADIATORIAL COMBATS—THE "VENATIONES"

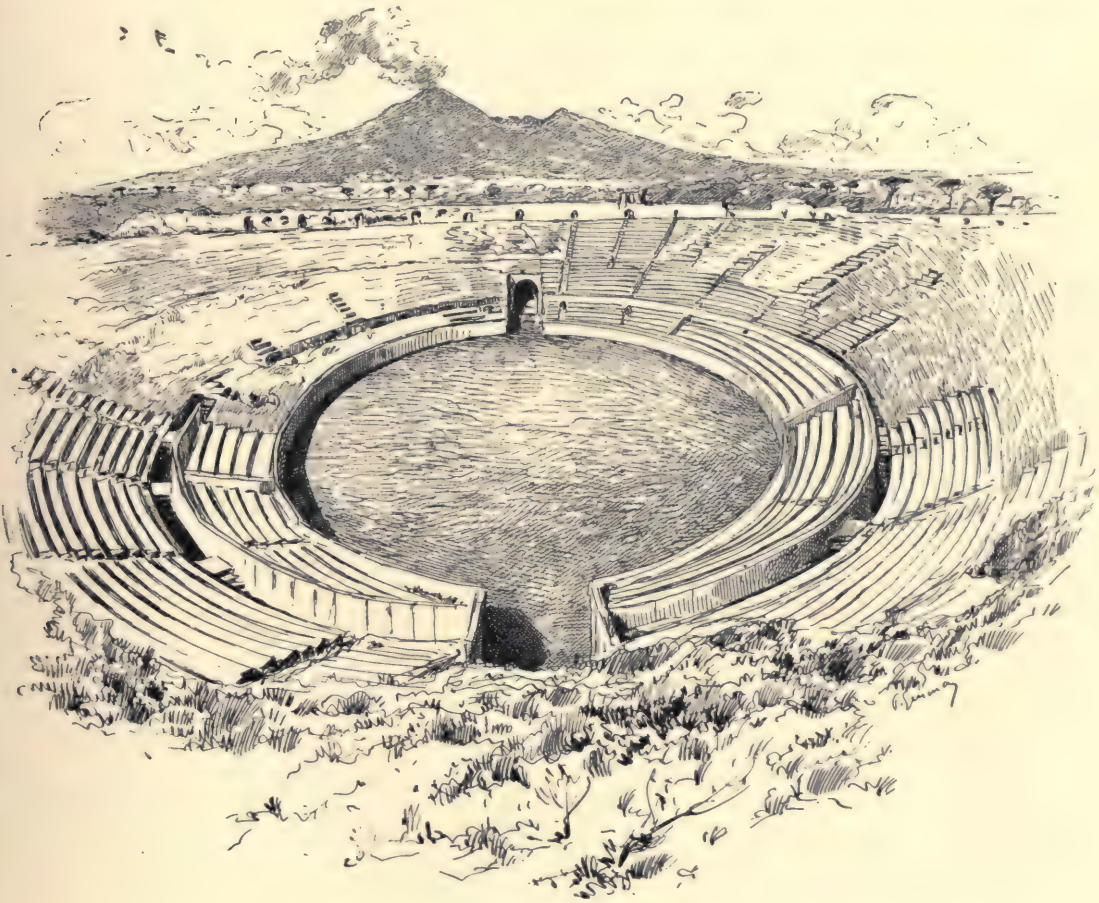
THE amphitheatre, as we have seen, is situated at the end of the city farthest from the sea. It is built in the form of an ellipse 420 yards long by 327 wide, and could contain 12,800 spectators. The building was begun soon after the colonisation of Pompei by Sylla, and the magistrates who contributed to the expenses of erecting it had their names inscribed on its walls. It is divided into three *caveæ* and twenty *cuneii*, in which the places are marked in red; and in fine weather it was frequented by the inhabitants of all the neighbouring districts, for the amphitheatre at Pompei was probably the most important of that country side. The building is surrounded by an arcade of forty exterior arches, several of which served as *vomitoria*, and communicated with the great circular inner corridor (the *præcinctio*) that runs inside the amphitheatre, beneath the tiers of seats. Outside, stairs led to the *deambulacrum*, a broad terrace round the upper part of the amphitheatre,



Arena of the Amphitheatre

which commanded a fine and extensive view of the sea, the mountains, the city, and Vesuvius, with its green slopes studded with villas.

Round the arena runs the *podium*, the wall of which was painted with combats of gladiators and animals, armour, palm-branches, genii, and various scenes relating to the distribution of prizes. A small door in the wall of

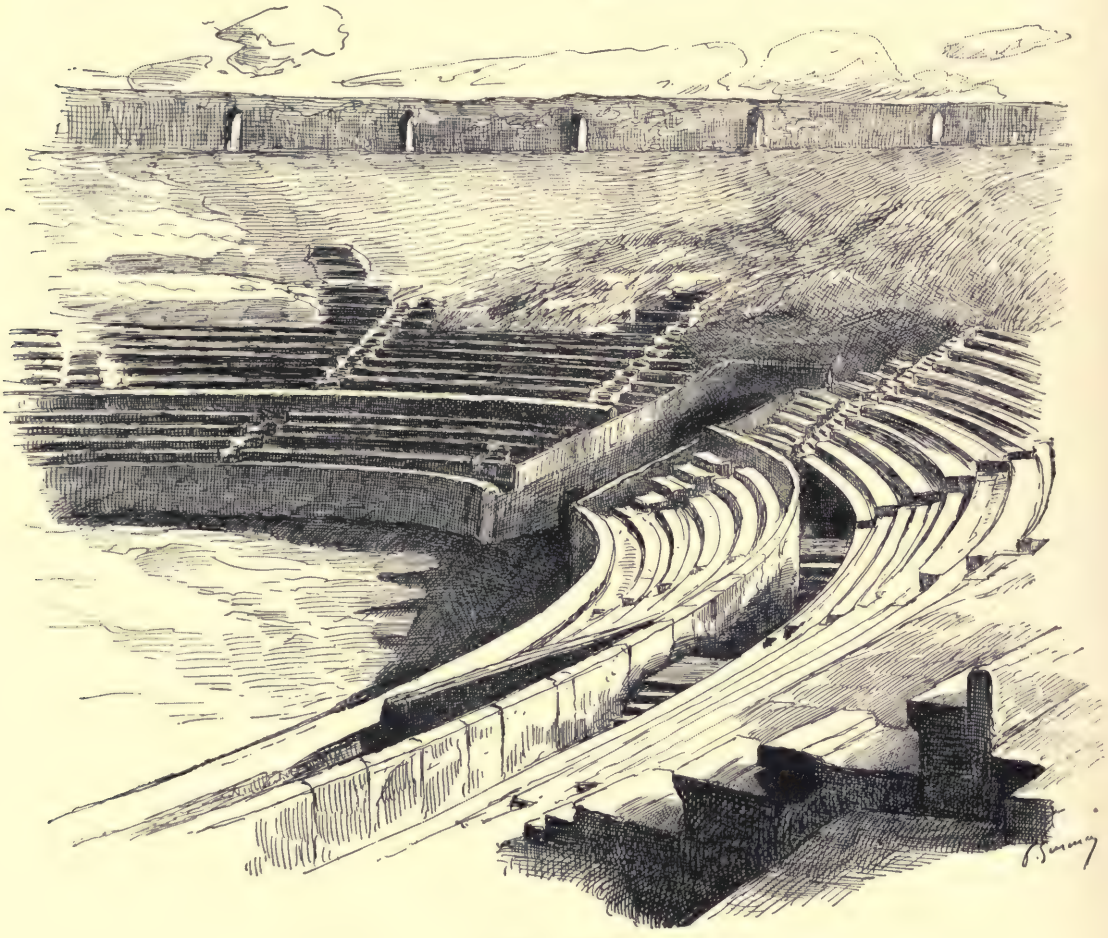


The Amphitheatre

the *podium* led to the *spoliatorium*, to which the dead bodies were dragged, and the cages of the animals were situated near the two main *vomitoria*. The seats reserved for the magistrates may still be seen, and also the *balteus*, or wall that ran between the seats and separated the different classes of society. A second *balteus* stands between the second and the third *mœnianum* (the *summum mœnianum*), and various entrances here and there gave access to the seats from an inner corridor.

One of the many inscriptions in the amphitheatre records that the head of the *Pagus Augustus Felix* repaired a portion of the building, and that the duumvir Istacidus, Audius and Sextus Capito contributed to the expenses of the games and illuminations.

Names of the *families* (*familiæ*) of gladiators are often inscribed on



The Tiers of Seats

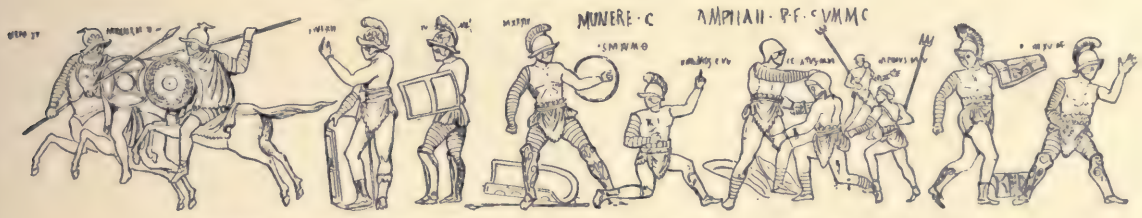
the notices, among others those of Ampliatus and Numerius Popidius Rufus. Rich men organised bands of gladiators (*familiæ*), recruited from among their slaves, who were obliged to obey their master's orders. There were also gladiators who enlisted voluntarily, criminals, and foreign prisoners, among whom may have been the Sequanus and Viriodus of the *graffiti*. Programmes, written on leaves of papyrus (the *libellus munerarius*), were handed round among the spectators, and trumpets and horns were

sounded before the spectacles began. A painting from the amphitheatre shows a gladiator acting as *cornicen*, and blowing a horn to announce the forthcoming combat. The director of the games, the *lanista*, wearing the

Cornicen announcing the Combat (a Painting from the Podium of the Amphitheatre) (Naples Museum)

*angusticlavus*, and holding the *virga* in his hand, appears to be pointing out the places of the combatants, and slaves are bringing armour and a helmet.

Scenes from the ensuing combat are represented in the much-defaced stucco bas-relief of the tomb of Scaurus.* They represent eight pairs of gladiators of different kinds; their wounds are coloured red and

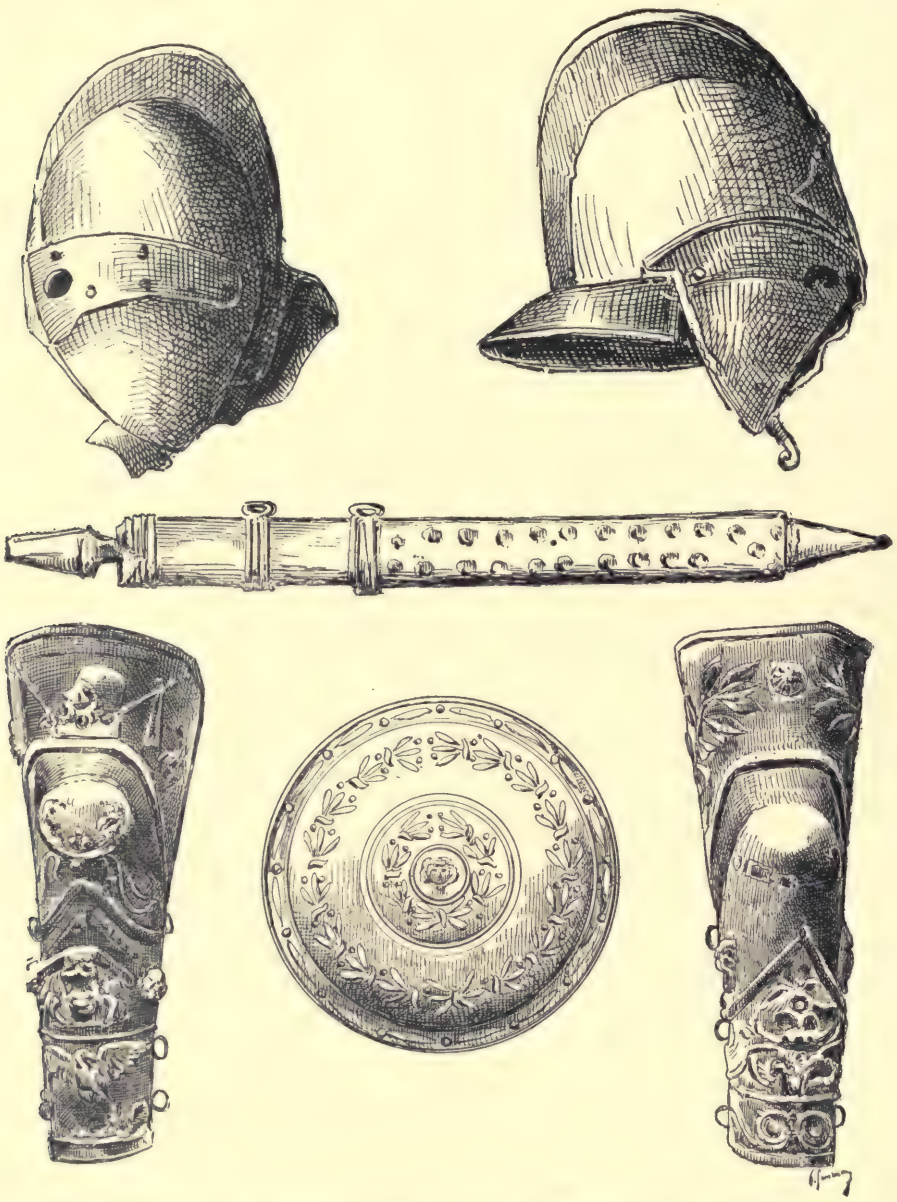



Gladiatorial Combat (from the Bas-reliefs in Stucco of the Tomb of Scaurus, after Mazois)

also the inside of their shields. Two horsemen are armed with the lance and the round buckler; their names are Bebrix and Nobilior, and the number of their victories is written against their names. Beside them stand two gladiators with shields, one of whom makes a sign with his hand that he is ready. Next, a heavily armed soldier, the *hoplomachus*, has just

* Thanks to Mazois, we are able to give a reproduction.

overcome a *velitis*, a lightly armed gladiator. The latter, who is wounded in the chest and bleeding, has thrown down his shield and lance, and kneels



Helmets of Secutores, Sword of a Gladiator (gladius), Armour of Gladiators (Naples Museum)

on one knee with his finger raised to ask for quarter. Above his head it is said that the Greek letter Θ was decipherable (the initial of Θάνατος, death), indicating that he was put to death.

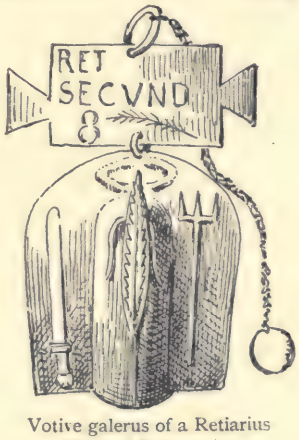
The next scene is even more bloodthirsty. The *secutores* are fighting

with the *retiarii*, and one *secutor*, covered with wounds from the trident of the *retiarius*, receives the death-stroke courageously from his comrade's hand. The victor, Nitimus, seems to be pushing him on to the sword, to make an end of him. In the background, a second *retiarius* waits in the distance for another victim, while in the foreground two gladiators appear to be running away. The other figures in the bas-relief represent similar matches, in one of which a *mirmillo* falls heavily after receiving his death wound.

Gladiator's Helmet

The End of the Match (a Painting on the Podium of the Amphitheatre)

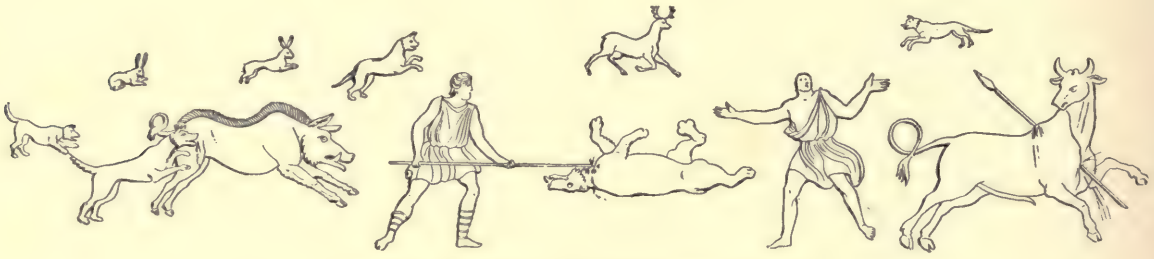
Seneca speaks with indignation of these displays. "What a shame to take a man's life, which is a sacred thing, for sport, and butcher him for the amusement of his fellow-men!" But this did not prevent the gladiators from being popular heroes. Pictures of them are found in the most diverse places: on the walls of private houses, in the chambers of courtesans, and in the *thermopolia*. Their exploits seem to have had a great attraction for young girls, to judge from the epithets of *puellarum decus* (charmer of girls) and *suspirium puellarum* (thou for whom the girls sigh) written against the gladiators in the *graffiti*.




Votive galerus of a Retiarius (Naples Museum)

The attraction of the amphitheatre was so great

that the people crowded it in wild enthusiasm. Mingled with this enthusiasm there was, no doubt, something of that selfish pagan spirit which makes Lucretius say: "It is pleasant to watch the waters of the



Bas-relief in Stucco on the Tomb of Scaurus (Venatio)

great sea stirred by the storm-winds, and standing ashore, to see one far off mightily struggling." *

Palm-branches and crowns were awarded to the victors in these matches, and the heavy and richly ornamented helmets found in the city were given as prizes. A votive badge of a *retiarius*, representing a *galerus*, a sort of small buckler for the protection of the left shoulder, was also found in Pompei. It is ornamented with a trident surrounded by palm, a crown, and the number of its owner's victories.

The Winning Cock at a Cock-fight (Mosaic in the Naples Museum)

After these human combats the programme of the more important entertainments announced a hunt (*venatio*). Here again blood flowed freely; animals were disembowelled by the *bestiarii* and the *venatores* for the pleasure of the spectators. The *venatores* were fully equipped and trained, and are not to be confused with the *bestiarii*, who were lightly dressed and had no defensive weapons. These last were

* Lucretius II. 1.

chiefly recruited among criminals condemned to imprisonment, who were occasionally set free after a victory. One of these *venationes* is represented on the tomb of Scaurus: a wild boar is attacked by a dog, which gnaws his hind quarters; a *bestiarius* plunges his lance into the throat of a bear; and a bull is shown transfixed by a skilfully directed lance. In the background, a wolf, a stag, and a panther are preparing to fight, while some hares hunted by dogs give a comic touch to the scene. In one painting a bull and a bear are fastened together by a rope and forced to fight. Lastly, matches between Gallic cocks—the gamest fighters, according to Petronius—were very popular among the people, and a mosaic represents the winning cock receiving the palm-branch. These miniature combats, however, probably took place at the theatre.

A Bear and a Bull (a Painting in the Podium of the Amphitheatre)

In addition to these spectacles, where a barbarous passion filled twelve thousand souls with terror or delirium, Comedy, less cruel, added its note of gaiety and wit, licence and satire, to the attractions of the pleasure-loving city.

# VIII

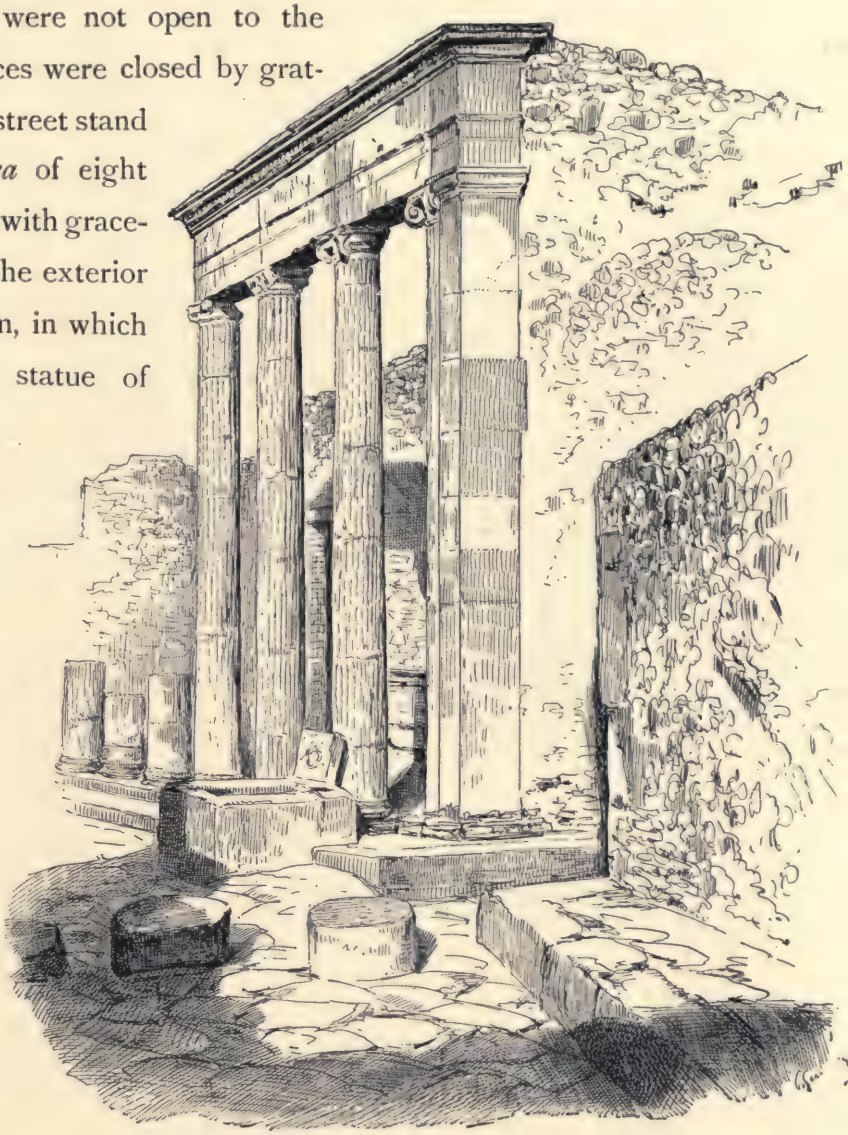
THE TRIANGULAR FORUM—THE THEATRES—THE TESSERÆ—COMEDY—MUSIC—DANCING—THE ATELLAN FARCES—FUNAMBULI—THE VELARIUM—THEATRICAL MACHINERY

THE two theatres of Pompei, the larger or tragic theatre, which was used in the summer, and the Odeon, a covered theatre built in the Greek style, stand side by side. Their doors open into the Triangular Forum, where the Greek Temple stood, and a portico of the Grecian Doric order formed the *hecatonstylon*, where the spectators found a promenade sheltered from the sun and wind. This Forum, the Agora of Pompei in its earlier Greek period, is delightfully situated. The far-reaching valley it overlooks is bathed in the limpid atmosphere of the bay, where the sea flashes in the distance. A defaced exedra, with a

The Hecatonstylon of the Triangular Forum

sun-dial, offers a resting-place to the visitor; placed at the edge of the Acropolis, and dominating the valley, it is a point of vantage whence the eye explores the vague horizon, to lose itself in infinite distance.

The porticoes were not open to the public; their entrances were closed by gratings. Towards the street stand the elegant *Propylæa* of eight Greek Ionic columns with graceful capitals, forming the exterior portico of the Forum, in which a fountain and a statue of Marcellus used to stand.



Propylæa of the Triangular Forum

The small theatre is better preserved than the other. It was roofed, *theatrum tectum*, as is recorded in various inscriptions placed above the doors. It could seat 1500 spectators: the first four tiers, which were reserved for the magistrates, are very broad, and on them cushions were placed, and seats, many of these being *bisellia*, the curule-chairs of the ædiles to whom the *municipia* accorded this honour. Above this *cavea*, bordered by a *balteus*, there is a long passage which runs all round the theatre; the upper *caveæ* were reached by two staircases situated at either end of the

semicircle, against kneeling Atlantes. The stage is in good preservation, and also the orchestra with its pavement of coloured marbles, on which is inlaid in bronze letters the name of the donor.

On the walls of the *vomitoria* were many inscriptions, now defaced, recording the names of gladiators, or setting forth some erotic sentiment. One of these *graffiti* mentions that three soldiers indulged in a debauch in the year of the Consulate of Messala and L. Lentulus—more than eighty years before the destruction of the city.

The Roofed Theatre. The Door on the Street of Stabiæ

*Tesseræ*, or tokens used in the theatre, on which the number of the seat was marked, have been discovered. On two of these tokens we read:

XI · ΗΜΙΚΥΚΛΑΙΑ · ΙΑ

XII · ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ · ΙΒ

*i.e.*, Semicircle XI. and XII. of Æschylus (the Greek letters ΙΑ and ΙΒ correspond to the Roman numerals XI. and XII.).

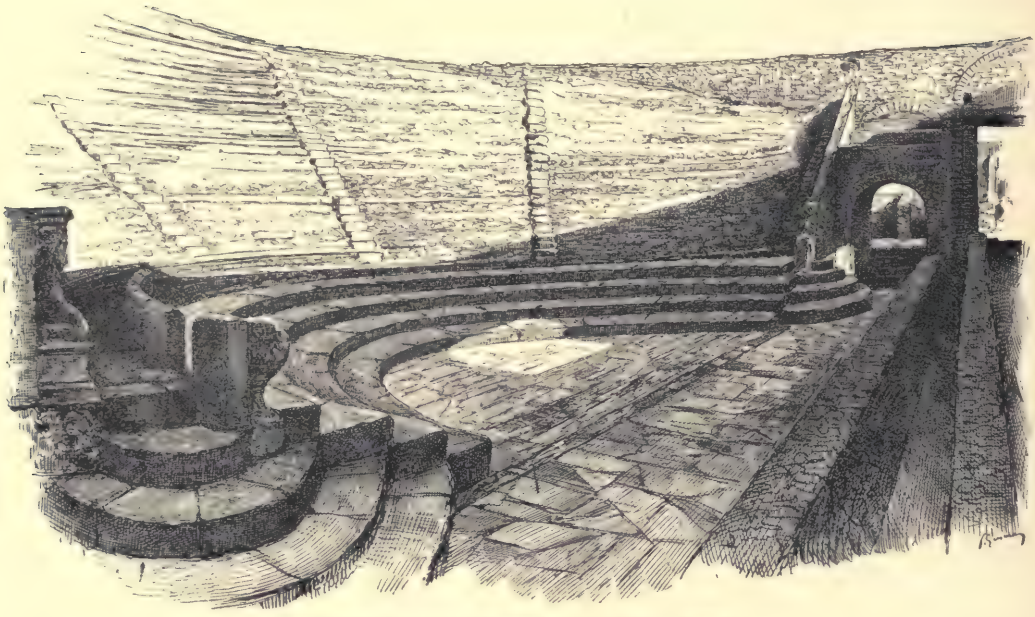
These *tesseræ* were made in a variety of shapes, some of them representing almonds, death's-heads, fishes, and bagpipes; others, shaped like pigeons, were no doubt used by spectators who sat in the highest rows. The Neapolitan expression, "*piccionaia*," for the seats in the upper gallery, preserves a tradition that is also perpetuated in the French term *poulailler*. The name is a happy one, for in the ancient open-air theatres

birds of all kinds came and perched on the top of the wall against which the spectators in the uppermost *cavea* were leaning.

It was not only in the theatre that *tesseræ* were current. They were also in use in the amphitheatre, in contracts, and as a token of hospitality

Tesseræ (Naples Museum)

given or received. They were then long and thin in shape, and had marked on them the names of two friends, who, when they parted, broke the token in two, each keeping half, so that, if they ever met again, they could recognise one another by joining the broken halves together. *Tesseræ* were also distributed by rich magistrates at the games held in the amphitheatre, and, according to Martial, this gave the owners of the tokens the right to "the beasts of the arena, and the birds, who came gladly to find a



Auditorium and Orchestra of the Roofed Theatre

Comic Actor (Terra-cotta Statue in the Naples Museum)

resting-place in the breast of the master whom chance had given them, thus escaping death."

What were the principal plays performed in the Pompeian theatres? The rich Romans who came down to their country houses in Campania had, no doubt, a taste for the Greek drama, of which the Latin theatre was but an echo; the actors of Pompei accordingly donned the *pallium* and acted Greek plays. The *comedia palliata* was, moreover, brilliantly represented by Latin authors, such as Livius, Andronicus, and Nævius, without counting the greater dramatists. The *comedia togata* of Afranius (first century B.C.), played by actors

Comic Actress (Terra-cotta Statue in the Naples Museum)

dressed in the toga, was also very popular with the lower orders; it represented scenes from Roman life, with much satirical drollery.

Marble Mask (Naples Museum)

The actors themselves, some with their faces made up to look like satyrs, others wearing grotesque masks with hollow eyes, and mouths as wide as gargoyles, "fit to swallow the audience," as Lucian writes,* were known by the name of *histriones*. This name, according to Valerius Maximus, was first given by the Etruscans to a troupe of comedians who came on tour to Rome at the time of the Rape of the Sabines: the novelty of the entertainment so delighted the young Romans that their name of *histriones* was always afterwards used for actors.

Marble Mask (Naples Museum)

Marble Mask (Naples Museum)

According to the Romans themselves, the Greeks were the only good actors, able to move to tears or laughter; but what must have been especially pleasing to the Pompeians, as the national product of Campania, were the Atellan farces. These pantomimic pieces, originally produced at Atella, a town near Naples, represent the old Oscan comedy, racy of the soil;

An Actor (Painting in the Naples Museum)

* The masks were very varied in their expression, and the wide mouth with its trumpet-shaped opening gave a greater resonance to the voice, which lost a good deal of its power in the open-air theatres.

several of the types still survive. It was often mere coarse burlesque; varied by interludes of dance and song, it was called "*satura*"; later on, the name of *exodia* was given to it; and Novius and Pomponius attempted to give it a literary character.*

The farces had titles such as: *Crotule vel petitor*, *Papus præteritus*, *Maccus Sequester*, and so on. This last person, with his bald head and his great nose covered with warts, was a sot and debauchee, who reappears as the *Pulchinello* of Naples, the city where classic traditions have been more faithfully preserved than anywhere else. Among other stock characters of these plays was *Bucco*, a glutton and a rogue, *Dorsennus* the hunchback, and *Mandricus* with his broad mouth full of teeth—a veritable ogre. It is easy to imagine what these ludicrous comedies must have been, rendered in the animated and noisy fashion of the modern Neapolitans, who, as a picturesque expression has it, have "talkative hands." In these farces many of the spectators took part as well as the professional actors, and often the piece was a cross-fire of jests and sallies adapted to some given theme, each interlocutor contributing his witticisms in a scene of grotesque ribaldry. Political allusions furnished matter for innumerable satirical quips at the time of the municipal elections, and the actors even dared to censure the crimes of the Emperors, who occasionally made them pay dearly for their liberty of speech.

Choir, Singer, Tibicen, and Cithara Player (Painting in the Naples Museum)

* Boissier, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* de Saglio: Atellanæ fabulæ.

Flute

Bagpipe

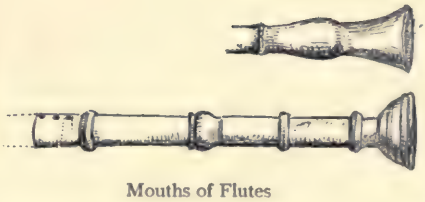
Musicians

Cymbals

Flute

Tuba

Syrinx



Mouths of Flutes

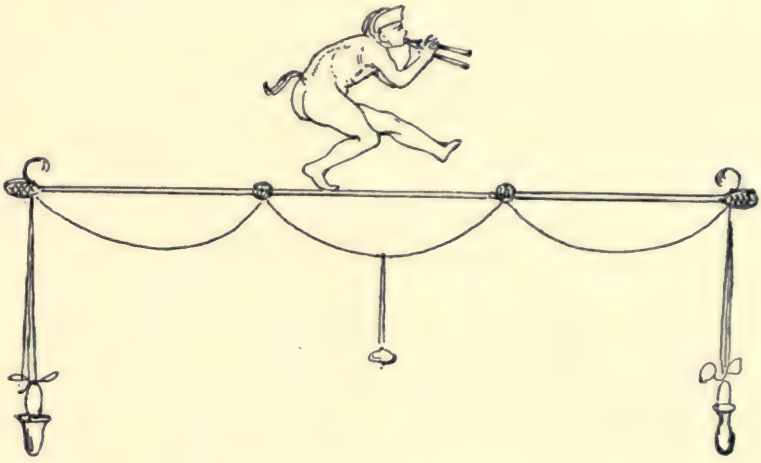
Musicians and Musical Instruments (Naples Museum)

Music also lent its aid to these dramatic representations, as is shown by the end of the first act of the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, where the actor informs the company that, while he proceeds with his knaveries, the flute-player will entertain the audience; and Cicero, speaking of an actor who declaimed a tragic passage with a timid air, writes: "As he was reciting such fine verses to the accompaniment of such a melodious flute, I cannot see why he was frightened." The syrinx, cymbals, tambourine, and double flute were also used on the stage. This last instrument was played with the help of the *capistrum*, a broad strap of leather with a hole in it, which was placed over the mouths of instruments to give them a fuller and more resonant tone. The cithara, which had a soft and musical note, was made to vibrate by the touch of a quill or a piece of wood called the *plectrum*, but it was also pressed with the fingers. All players on the cithara were called *citharistæ*, but the name *citharœdus*, the title of Apollo Musagetes, was only given to a genuine artist, a skilled musician who could compose and improvise the melodies he rendered.

Citharœdi (a Painting in the Casa del Citarista)

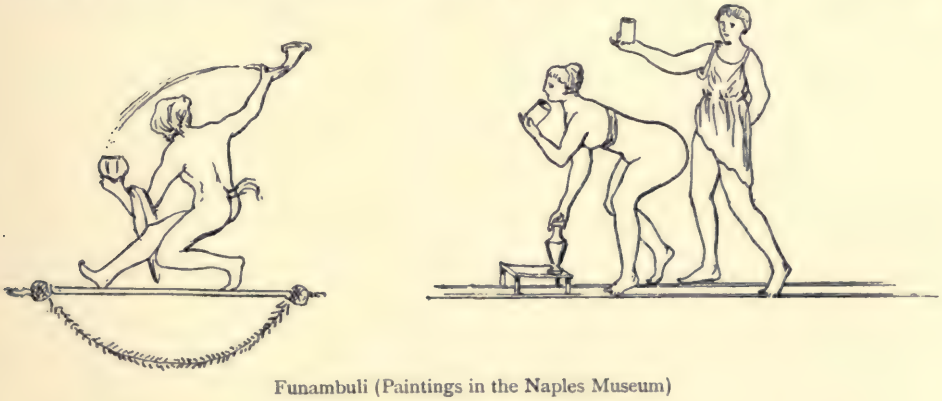
Displays of agility and rhythmic movement followed after those of volubility and ready wit. The *Funambuli* danced on the tight-rope, and showed their skill by playing music and pouring water from a *rhyton* into a cup, keeping their balance the while. The *Kubisteteres* and *Cernui* walked on their hands and performed various gymnastic exercises with their feet, capered and tumbled like clowns, and jumped through hoops in the midst of upright swords. To all these exercises there was a musical accompaniment, as in our own times, to mark the cadence, an indispensable aid to feats of equilibrium.

In ancient times every theatrical representation included dancing, which was the earliest form of entertainment. The theatres had a large space, the orchestra (from the Greek ὀρχηστης, a dance) specially designed for this purpose. The dancers were stationed close to the front tier of seats, and the spectators thus had a good view of their pantomime and of their graceful evolutions. Dancing was honoured above all bodily exercises by the ancients, and no ceremony was complete without it. What an infinite variety of delicate outline sketches of *saltatrices* are to be seen on the walls of Pompei, full of life and movement!



Funambulus (Painting in the Naples Museum)

"To dance," says Lucian, "is to honour Venus and Bacchus, and dancing is an initiation into love itself." This sentiment was too much in accordance with the Pompeian spirit to have been neglected, and Greek dances must certainly have been performed in Pompei, for in a city full of Greek traditions and Hellenistic influences we cannot doubt that the ancient rhythmic dances of Hellas had been preserved.



Funambuli (Paintings in the Naples Museum)

Among the various dances, the *Emmeleia*, the *Sicinnis*, and the *Cordax* were danced in tragedy and comedy. The Cordax, a somewhat obscene dance, appears to have been, like the *Tarantella*, confined to the neighbourhood of Naples. There were also Bacchic dances, such as that of the *Wine-Press*, imitated from the vine-dressers' dance. The *Chorea* was danced in a ring; in the *Hormus*, youths and maidens joined hands, forming a circlet of mingled grace and vigour.

A Satyric Dance (Mosaic in the Naples Museum)

Like the Odeon of Pericles at Athens, which was also a covered theatre, the small theatre at Pompei did duty as a concert-hall, and the great theatre, where plays were more sumptuously staged, was used in the summer. A *velarium*, or awning, was then stretched above the auditorium, and fastened to the top of the building, to beams fixed in place by stone rings, which are still in existence. These awnings were first used in Pompei, and Ammianus Marcellinus satirises the plebeians for sheltering themselves under awnings borrowed from voluptuous Campania, which Valerius Maximus denounces for this same effeminate practice. In the heat of summer the air was cooled by showers scented with saffron and other perfumes, from a reservoir, traces of which are still visible. Thus music, poetry, dancing, and the scent of flowers all combined to make the theatre a favourite haunt of the fastidious, eager for the more refined pleasures of the senses.

Dancers (a Painting in the Naples Museum)

The great theatre is of a later date than the small Greek theatre, and was built in the reign of Augustus by the architect M. Antonius Primus with money supplied by the brothers Olconius Marcus Rufus and Marcus Celer. The auditorium contains three *caveæ*, five *cuneii*, and tribunes (or "stage-boxes"). In the first tier may be seen the place reserved for the *bisellium* of the father of Olconius, a *flamen* of Augustus, whose name is recorded in inlaid letters of bronze. A wide semicircular promenade above the upper *cavea* offered a fine view of the mountains towards Stabiæ, and, protected by a portico, must have answered much the same purpose as the modern *foyer*.

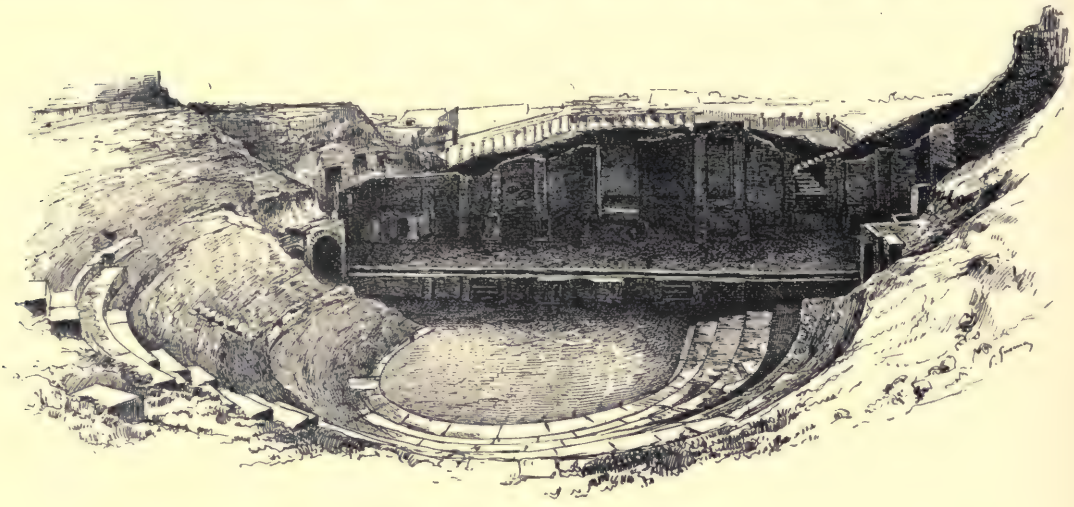
Intercolumnium of the Theatre (Marble Bas-relief in the Naples Museum)

Amongst the Greeks the feminine part of the audience consisted solely of courtesans, but in Rome women frequented the theatres and took their seats among the men. Ovid recommends men who are seated behind women at the theatre to see that their knees do not bruise their shoulders. He also adds that women went to the play to be seen rather than to see, and that footstools were placed under their feet and soft cushions on their seats.

Intercolumnium of the Theatre (Marble Bas-relief in the Naples Museum)

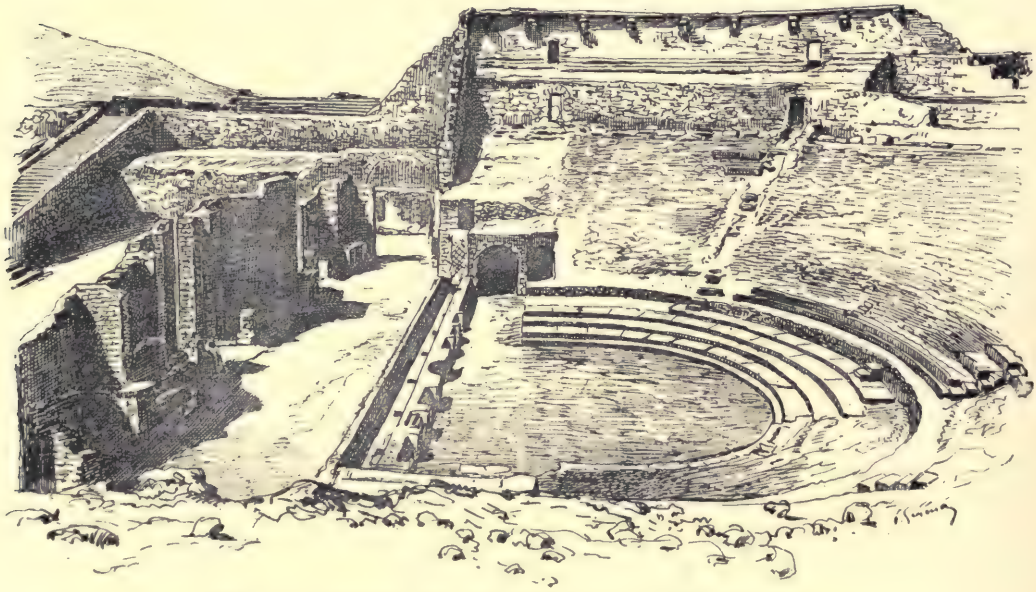
The audience itself at the theatre was often as interesting a sight as anything on the stage. Plautus, in the Prologue to the *Pœnulus*, gives a life-like description of the crowded auditorium; courtesans often sat on the *proscenium*, and an official of the theatre, acting as box-keeper, showed

the spectators, armed with their *tesseræ*, to their seats. Late-comers, who had overslept themselves, were obliged to stand, as there were no seats left



General View of the Great Theatre

for them; slaves who climbed up the tiers were driven away with blows, while nurses suckled their charges, bleating like young kids. The women

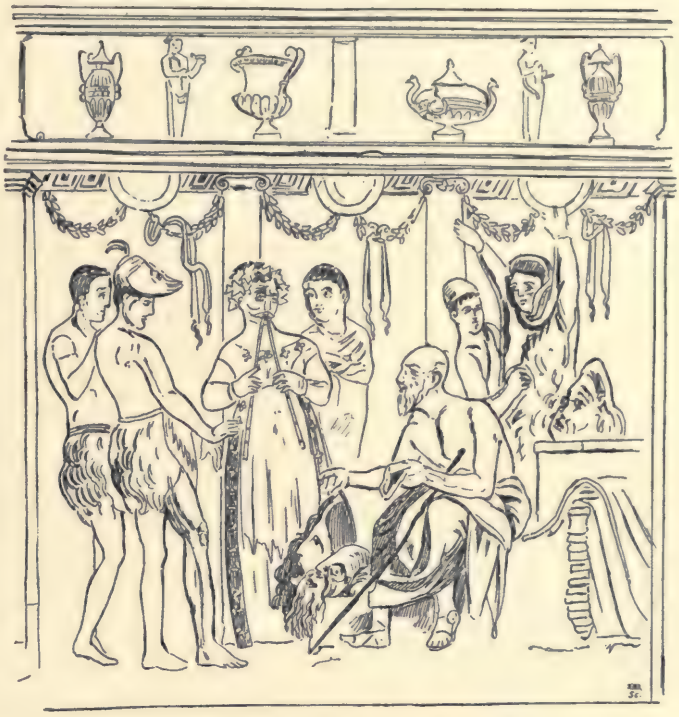


Stage and Auditorium of the Great Theatre seen from the Choragium

were requested to watch the play in silence and to laugh quietly, and finally the herald announced that the actors would not be the object of any cabals, "and that the palm would be awarded fairly."

We may now turn to the stage and to the part of the theatre reserved

for the actors. That immediately in front of the *scena*, or stage proper, was the *proscenium*, where interludes (*embolia*) were performed by young actors and actresses. The *proscenium* was on the *pulpitum* of the theatre, which communicated with the *orchestra* by small flights of steps. The curtain in front of the stage was called the *auleum* in tragedies, and was let down beneath the theatre into the *hyposcenium*, while in comedies the curtain was called the *siparium*, and was drawn on either side.



A Scene in the Choragium (Mosaic in the Naples Museum)

The Choragus (Painting in the Naples Museum)

The *scena* proper was decorated with an architectural background, ornamented with marble and statues; this was the *scena stabilis*. At the great theatre in Pompei this fixed scene had three doors; the central door was only used by gods and princes, the one to the right by women and the *gens domestica*, and the one to the left by strangers.

Behind the stage, the *postscenium* included the wings and the *choragium*, a room where theatrical properties were kept, and where the actors dressed and rehearsed their parts, as shown in a painting and a mosaic.

The machinery of the theatre was much more complex than one would have imagined, for the absence of a roof above the stage made it difficult to manage stage effects. Changes of scene were effected by means of ingenious machines called *periactoi*—frames revolving on a pivot, and shaped like a prism, on each side of which was painted a scene from the play, which could be changed at will. These *periactoi* were three in number; one stood at the back of the stage and the other two at the wings, like our modern side-scenes. At a given signal the triangular frames were turned by workmen and the scene was changed. When the scene represented was a public place, and it was necessary to show what was going on within the palace at the back of the stage, the *encyclema*, a low truck on wheels, was rolled on to the stage from the inclined plane that may be seen in the *postscenium*, with the actors arranged on it to form a *tableau vivant*. Even thunder was imitated with the *bronteion*, and the effect of lightning was produced by special lamps, when Jove descended in apotheoses. All the gods of Olympus were brought upon the stage, but they were not always very reverently treated; Jove was laughed to scorn, and Diana was even whipped. The Romans, like Ovid, no longer took the gods seriously. They were chiefly interested in the divine amours, from which they drew encouragement for their own dissolute manners.

# PART IV

## THE STREETS, INSCRIPTIONS, INDUSTRIES

POMPEIAN PORTRAITS

1. — REGION VII — INSULA XII — No 26 2. — REGION VIII — INSULA V — No 39

3. — REGION VII — INSULA IV — No 31 (*Casa di Arriana*)

# I

## THE STREETS OF POMPEI—THE WATER AND THE SEWERS—THE ROADS AND FOOTWAYS

WE have mentioned many of the streets of Pompei in connection with the various public buildings we have visited, but as yet we have not paused to examine those special features which are yet another attraction of Pompei, where the ancient roads and alleys, with their borders of stone, speak so curiously of the past.

All the streets have footways raised much higher than ours; beside them there ran a stream which collected the water from the kitchens, *thermopolia*, and tan-yards, and fell into a gutter beneath the footway. Many of the *latrinæ* even had a small outlet into these gutters, though most of them were connected with the main sewer by terra-cotta pipes. A great deal of refuse must, however, have fallen into the stream; but this difficulty was met by an abundant supply of water all along the footway from aqueducts now destroyed. It was carried by numerous leaden pipes (on many of which may still be read the name of the maker: *ex officina Claudii*) into stone or marble fountains. From these fountains the water ran in all directions, flushing the street and falling at last into large openings beneath the footway or at the end of streets ending in a *cul-de-sac* (*fundulæ*). (There was a very good water supply for domestic purposes, and every house had its own tap.)

It would seem, however, that the Pompeians must have been obliged to wade ankle-deep in mud, even on a fine day, when they crossed the road.

But this was not the case. At once indolent and practical, the citizens avoided this discomfort by laying down one, two, or three flat stepping-stones of the same height as the footway at equal distances from one another. Thus, the Pompeians could cross lightly from one pavement to the other in two or three strides, without having to step up and down into the street.

In many streets the heavy antique chariots, passing continually over the

The Street of Stabiæ

same track, have worn ruts in the flagstones deeper than those of a cart loaded with hay would make in a ploughed field.

The public fountains of the city are generally ornamented with decorative masks, from which the water escaped; heads of lions and bulls, Mercury, Abundance, Minerva, and so on. On other fountains we find such motives as an eagle carrying off a hare, a woman (Venus) holding a dove, a cock, &c.

In certain places in the city the various pipes met, forming a sort of

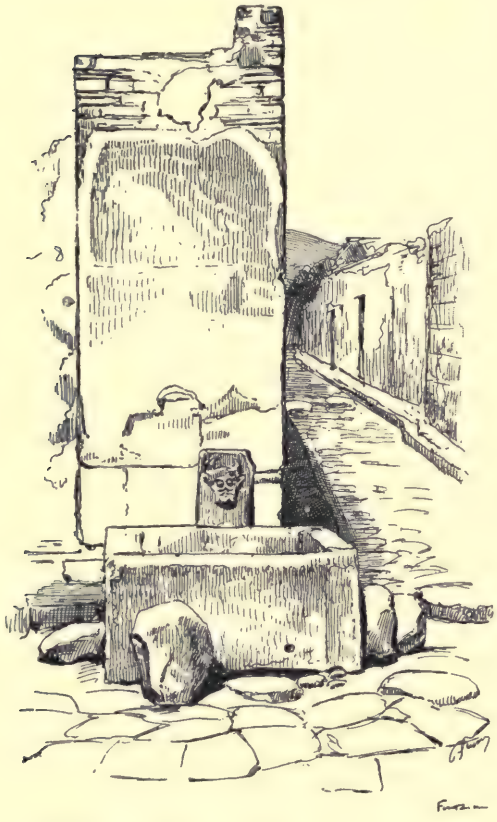
sheaf, with brass keys to regulate the supply of water. It is curious to notice that the tall brick pillars near the fountains have a groove running

The Stepping-stones and the Footways

the whole length of one side. The object of this is not quite clear, but it must have had some connection with a system of forcing up the water. On some of these pillars the iron clamps that fastened the pipes still remain,

and the marks of the pipes are clearly visible. The apparatus was probably used to supply the conduits which fed the jets in the *viridaria* and *atria.*

There were also cisterns in Pompei, supplementing the fountains, which may have dried up in summer. Mazois makes some observations on this subject: "The careful arrangements for catching water in Pompei seem at first sight inconsistent with the large number of fountains found in the city and the ruins of an aqueduct that I discovered there. But a closer study of the subject has suggested a probable explanation; that the supply of running water by means of an aqueduct was of a later date than the conquest of the city by the Romans; indeed, the workmanship of nearly all the fountains bears no resemblance to the types of Greek art."



Fountain in the Street of Nola, opposite the Casa della Caccia

"The aqueduct itself," Mazois continues, "of which but few traces remain, has all the appearance of a Roman construction, and resembles the more modern buildings found in the excavation of the city.* Lastly, the political status of the city before the conquest hardly warranted its carrying water at a great expense from the independent territory of Stabiæ, a town with which it had no community of municipal interests. These reasons incline me to believe that the use of the cisterns was of an earlier date than the construction of the fountains, and that it was only kept up by force of conservative habit."

* The earthquake of the year 63 would have probably destroyed earlier buildings.

The streets are, as a rule, straight. They are often narrow, though wide when compared with the close alleys of more modern cities. Paved

The Fountain of the Cock

with polygonal blocks of lava, they have a clean and well-kept appearance; the footway is a thick layer of levelled mortar, in which are embedded bits of marble and terra-cotta, sometimes symmetrically arranged.

Although regularity is generally the enemy of the picturesque, these

well-made streets give an impression of luxury and good taste exceedingly pleasant to the eye, which is undisturbed by detail, for the ancient houses are very bare and simple on the outside.

Several houses have *mæniana* (balconies overhanging the street), destined to increase the size of the upper rooms, and these balconies closely resemble the Arab *moucharabias*. In fact, several narrow lanes in the city

Crossways (Bivium) of the Street of Sallust (Consular Way)

have a very oriental look, while, on the other hand, we find the Græco-Roman house in Africa, and even in Persia, at the present day.

If the smaller streets of the city preserved the coolness so much prized in hot climates, the main streets, on the other hand, are wide and open, and offer beautiful views of the surrounding country. The Street of Stabiæ looks down into the valley of the Sarnus, and from the end of the Street of Nola the mountains of the Abruzzi appear in perspective.*

In summer the main streets of the city glow with colour in the luminous atmosphere, and the grey tufa walls of the Samnite period take on

* See coloured plate No. II.

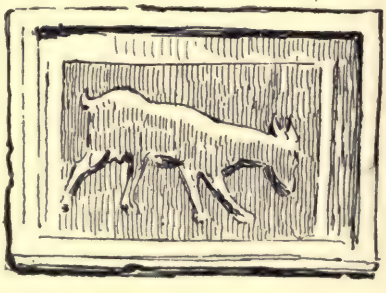
an infinity of delicate gradations. But in the short winter days the shadows hang heavy on the rain-soaked walls; a change comes over the land and the ruins. The depth of the misty penumbra gives a new charm to the soil, the russet vegetation of which harmonises so well with the red bricks of the fissured walls, the last traces of the Roman period. Even Vesuvius at times puts on a diadem of white, and the sun flashes back on the city from her crown of immaculate snow.

# II

## THE WALLS, ADVERTISEMENTS, SIGNS AND INSCRIPTIONS

THE more frequented streets in the city were lined with shops much like our own, facing the street, and furnished with marble counters, shutters for closing, and doors running in sliding grooves. The shopkeepers did their best to attract customers and draw attention to their wares by street-signs. Thus, two men carrying an amphora was the sign of a wine-seller; a goat, that of a milkman or a cheesemonger; a mask, that of an actor; while a kind of chess-board may have been either the sign of a maker of mosaics or of a gaming-house. The tools and implements used by masons and labourers were also represented, and a *phallus* was frequently added to the various symbols, as it was supposed to bring good luck in business by neutralising evil influences and warding off the evil eye. Sometimes the front of a small house was painted in various colours or in squares of red, white, and green, to attract the attention of the passers-by.

Sign of a Wine-seller (Polychrome Terra-cotta)



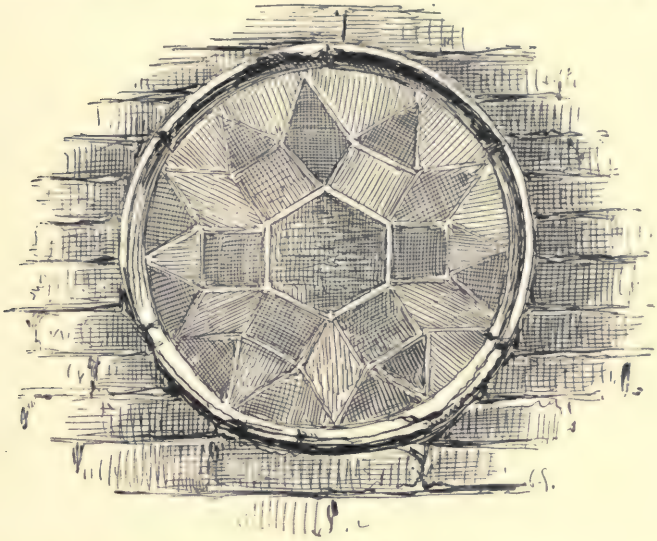
Marble Sign of a Milkman

In addition to these signs, with their simple and obvious symbolism, inscriptions were largely used as a means of advertisement. Inscriptions painted in red or black are still to be seen here and there in Pompei;

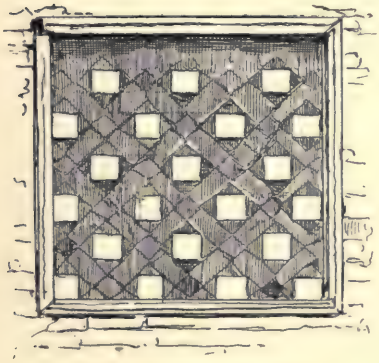
others are written in charcoal, but the majority of the wall-inscriptions are scratched with the style. Lapidary inscriptions are chiefly to be found in

Marble Sign

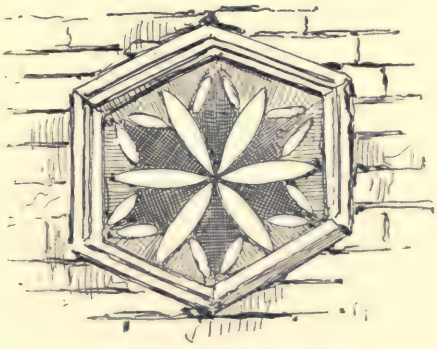
Marble Sign



Terra-cotta Sign



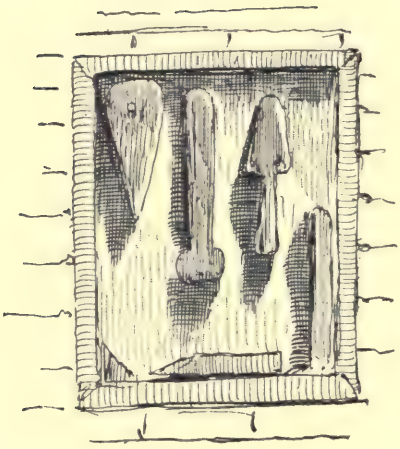
Marble and Terra-cotta Sign



Marble and Terra-cotta Sign

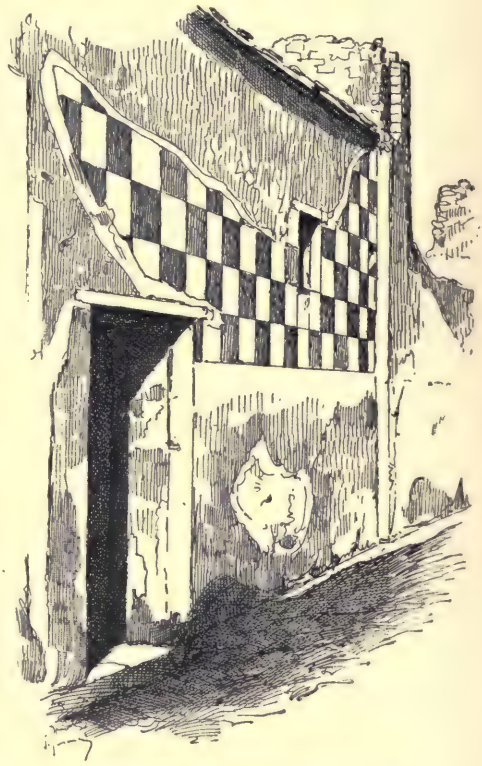
public buildings on the pedestals of statues, but they were sometimes used on a smaller scale, as records of a gift, as ex-votoes, or as tokens of friendship.

A very noticeable feature at Pompei is the number of Oscan and Latin

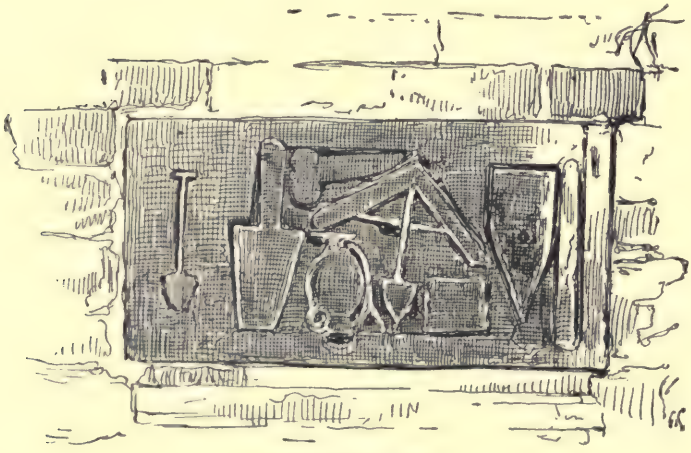


Terra-cotta Sign

lapidary inscriptions, perpetuating the name of some benefactor of the city. We learn, for instance, that V. Popidius, the son of Epidius, built porticoes; that L. Sepunius Sandilianus and Lucius M. Herennius, *duumviri juri dicundo*, set up a bench and a clock in the city at their own expense; that a certain Pompeian built a temple, that another restored it, and that a third gave the pavement. These inscriptions give a curious impression of the very human self-importance of these provincials, whose fortunes allowed them to spend money in gifts to the city. All the inhabitants were made aware of the munificence of their bankers and ædiles, who, indeed, were elected for such qualities, and whose names were handed down on their statues to future generations. It was, perhaps, as a satire on these pompous inscriptions that some wit announces in the lapidary style that, during the Consulate of L. Nonius Asprenas and A. Plotius, an ass was born to him.



Front of a Shop, Region IX. Insula V



Mason's Sign (Tufa)

Inscriptions painted with a brush were used for all ordinary purposes, and especially for election posters, bills announcing

public spectacles, and notices of houses to let. In one of these last we read: "In the Insula Arriana Polliana, belonging to Alifius Nigidus Major, to be let, from the next Ides of July, shops, with their

Inscription on Marble

Pedestal of the Statue of Holconius Rufus, Street of Abundance

*pergulæ* and *cænacula* (rooms in the upper storey).

Another inscription runs as follows:

IN · PRÆDIS · IVLIÆ · SP · F · FELICIS ·
LOCANTVR BALNEVM · VENERIVM · ET NOGENTVM · TABERNÆ
PERGVLÆ CENACVLA · EX IDIBVS · AVG · PRIMIS · IN
I DVS · AVG · SEXTAS · ANNOS · CONTINVOS · QUINQVE
S · Q · D · L · E · N · C · *

"To let in the property of Julia Felix, daughter of Spurius, from the next Ides of August to those of the sixth year hence, a bath, a *venereum* (secret room) and ninety shops, *pergulæ* (booths) and upper rooms."

The seven initials at the end correspond to the seven words indicated by Fiorelli.

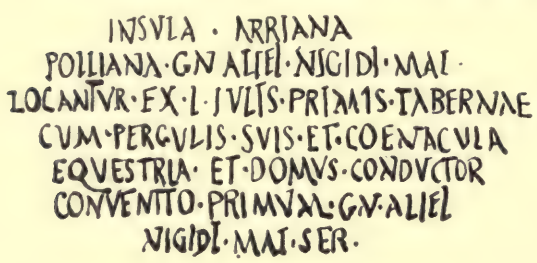
SI QVINQVENNIM DECVRRERIT LOCATIO ERIT NVDO CONSENSV

"After the term of five years the tenancy will continue by simple agreement."

Sometimes the walls of a house, near the doorway, were covered with complimentary inscriptions in honour of the master of the house, if he were a rich and influential man: *Nummiano feliciter!* These good wishes were

* Corp. insc. pomp. 1136.

not always to the taste of the men to whom they were addressed, who knew the interested motives of their authors. Thus, one of Plautus' characters declares, "I do not want my doors covered with compliments scrawled in charcoal."


INSVLA · ARRIANA
POLLIANA·GN ALIEI·NIGIDI·MAI·
LOCANTVR·EX·I·IVLIS·PRIMIS·TABERNAE
CVM·PERGVLIS·SVIS·ET·COENACVLA
EQVESTRIA· ET·DOMVS·CONDVCTOR
CONVENITO·PRIMVM·GN·ALIEI
NIGIDI·MAI·SER·

Inscription

There were also inscriptions on the public schools; one on the school of Verna informs us that the establishment was under the patronage of Capella, whose promotion to the office of duumvir was much to be desired.

CAPELLAM · D · V · ID · O · V · F · VERNA CVM DISCENT · ROG . *

*Capellam duumviratum juri dicundo orat ut faciatis Verna cum discentibus rogant.*

Another schoolmaster, Valentinus, whose house was opposite that of Verna, supported the ædiles Sabinus and Rufus:

SABINVM · ET · RVFVM
ÆD · D · R · P · VALENTINVS · CVM
DISCENTES · SVOS · ROG · (*Sic.*) †

A painting found in a third school represents the birching of a scholar by the master, while the other pupils are at work at their lessons.

The School (Painting in the Naples Museum)

In order to fully understand the other inscriptions that are given in this book, it will be necessary to give a brief account of the different languages in use in Pompei and to take a rapid survey of the alphabets. This will lend an additional interest to the *graffiti*, which are one of the most curious features of the city, for in these life reveals itself without disguise in a variety of unexpected details.

* Corp. insc. pomp. 694.

† Corp. insc. pomp. 698.

# III

## LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN POMPEI—THE WRITINGS IN USE—THE ALPHABETS

WE may make a brief excursion into this epigraphic domain, under the guidance of the various scholars who have studied the question.

Greek, Oscan, and Latin were spoken at Pompei. The old Oscan dialect was understood by the people even down to the late period of the city's history, for the Atellan farces were written in this *patois*, the racy vigour of which was much appreciated at Rome. The Oscan inscriptions discovered in Pompei are an additional proof that the old national language was not forgotten, and that it was still read and spoken in the old Oscan families, who jealously kept up this ancient bond of union between them.

Father Garrucci, in fact, made a collection of Oscan *graffiti*, and of Latin words written in the Oscan alphabet, just as Latin words have also been found written in Greek characters. In the inscriptions traced with a style, substitutions, additions, and transcriptions of letters are frequent, for the *graffiti* were often the work of the lower classes.

Although Greek inscriptions are rare in Pompei, the language was spoken and understood throughout Campania (the coins of Naples have Greek inscriptions), but its use was confined to the educated. Greek literature was so much admired that the very women spoke the language fluently—a practice which was natural enough in Pompei, but which

became an affectation elsewhere, exciting the wrath of Juvenal, who was provoked that a woman should think she could not be charming if she had not got "the Grecian air." Greek was the language of their most intimate passions. They made love in Greek: "My life and soul; ΖΩΗ ΚΑΙ ΨΥΧΗ," a term of endearment, preserved at Pompei in an inscription written on the wall of a passage in the house of Popidius Priscus.

While, on the one hand, it was fashionable to speak Greek, on the other the Roman women, when they used their own language, clipped their words, affecting a slight hesitation, like stammering, and this faulty pronunciation had come to be looked upon as charming, says Ovid. Persius also relates that in his time it was considered very elegant to speak through the nose: *Rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus.*

Even apart from these affectations, Latin was not spoken in its purity. Græcisms are not unusual in Pompei, and the Oscan dialect had an influence on the pronunciation of Latin which persists in the Neapolitan dialect. Thus, in the first line of the *Æneid*, written by a person not very familiar with Latin, and who probably had an Oscan accent, the *r* is replaced by an *l*: "Alma vilumque cano Tlo . . .," for "Arma virumque cano Trojæ." *

We may now note the characteristic features of each writing.

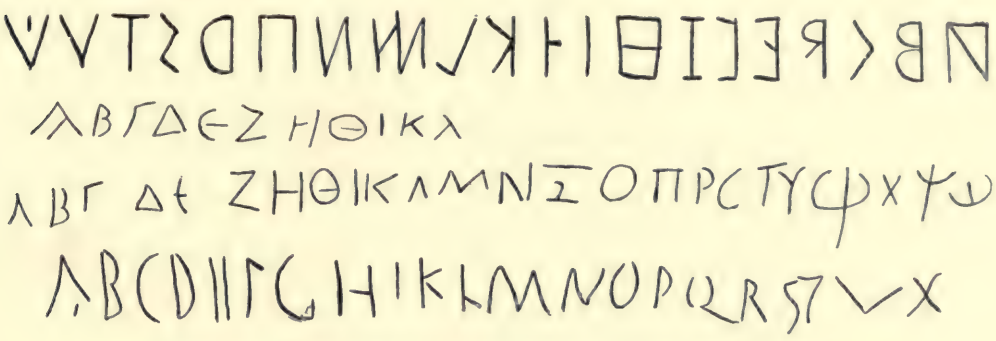
The Roman lapidary alphabet is well known by the capital letters we ourselves use, but in Pompei a few variations have crept into the alphabet. Thus, E is formed by two parallel vertical lines, and F is formed thus, I[1]. L is written I₁; M, IIII; and N I[1]I. From the time of Sylla the long I is represented by an I taller than the other letters, found especially in lapidary inscriptions.

The letters usually used in cursive hand, written with a pointed instrument, are a combination of lapidary characters and cursive proper, and in practice this gives a mixture of regular and abridged letters.

The notices and advertisements painted with a brush are generally

* In modern Naples the common people pronounce *r* like *l*.

written in *rustic capitals* (specimens of which are given), especially the electioneering placards.



Alphabets. Oscan (retrograde writing), Greek, and Roman (after Garrucci)

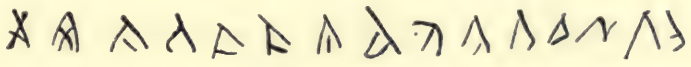
*Uncial* writing was not in use until long after *capital*, and was employed in the transcription of edicts and in making copies of literary works. It has rounded forms, and the V resembles the modern U. In the illustration we reproduce a painted inscription found in Pompei which approximates to this type.

Electioneering Inscription in Rustic Capitals (Vico di Tesmo)

Electioneering Inscription written in Uncial (Region VI. Insula XV.)

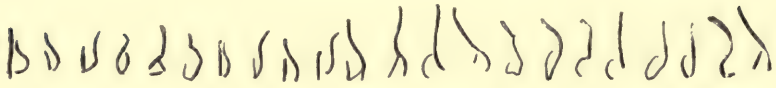
Cursive writing with a pointed instrument is the next in order.*

The letter A is usually formed by three strokes; in some few instances the middle stroke is wanting; occasionally it is isolated, perpendicular, or attached to one of the sides, and forms an opposite angle to the angle of the vertex.

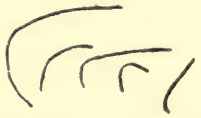
Examples 

B is formed like D, but the stroke that is carried upwards is longer than in D, and has a more decided curve.

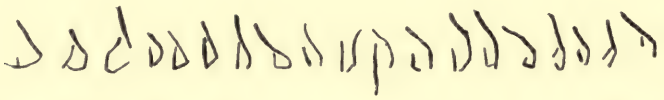
* See *Inscriptions gravées au trait sur les murs de Pompéi*, par le P. Garrucci. Brussels. 1 vol. in 4to.

Examples 

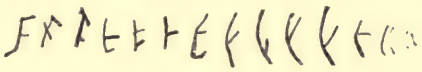
C generally preserves its usual shape, with more or less curve.

Examples 

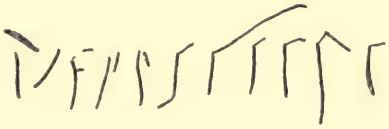
The cursive D is formed on the ᴅ, and varies somewhat from the uncial type.

Examples 

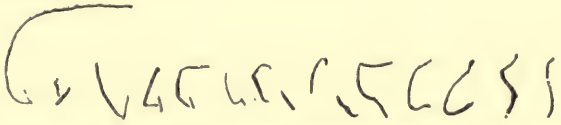
E has not always the three horizontal strokes, and the crescent-shaped ϵ is essentially cursive. The form (( has been considered as proper to Campania, though it came originally from Central Italy.

Examples 

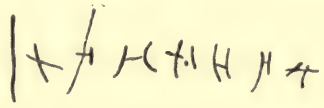
F is uniform in many inscriptions, and the form $I^{I}$ is also used in cursive writing.

Examples 

G is easily recognisable, but in undecided writings the curve, like that of C, is only slightly marked.

Examples 

H sometimes has the left stroke very much developed in cursive.

Examples 

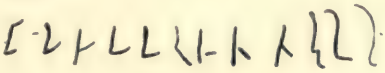
I is always the same, only more or less slanted.

Examples

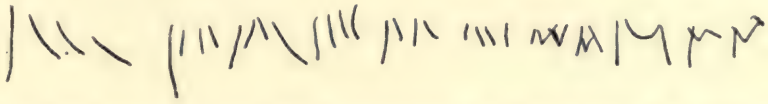
K may be mistaken for H, and in some cases the two strokes are horizontal.

Examples

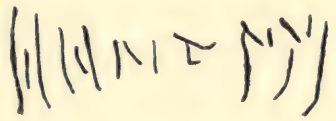
L is like F (I[1]) reversed.

Examples 

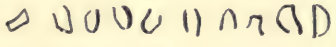
M always has four strokes, but sometimes they are separated from each other, sometimes crossed, the two middle strokes forming an angle the vertex of which points upwards.

Examples 

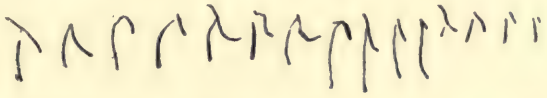
N can also be written in three separate strokes with the points turned back.

Examples 

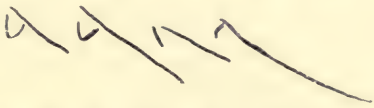
O is sometimes confused with A, but one of the two strokes is always rounded.

Examples 

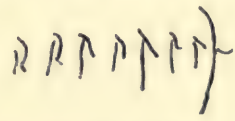
In P, which may be easily mistaken for R, the oblique stroke is more sinuous, and the straight stroke is sometimes curved in this letter, but never in R.

Examples 

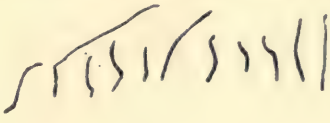
Q is always represented in the form shown in the illustration.

Examples 

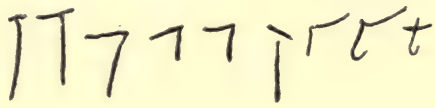
R has no peculiarity which has not been noticed under the letter P.

Examples 

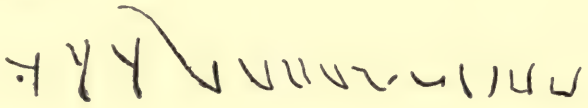
S is sometimes hardly to be distinguished from G in cursive, and even resembles an I occasionally, its characteristics are so ill-defined in certain writings, but one of the two volutes is nearly always indicated.

Examples 

T has always the same shape, but the vertical stroke is often to the right or left of the horizontal stroke.

Examples 

The V with a rounded base is found in the later period at Pompei, and sometimes resembles a Y when one of the two strokes forming the angle is carried too far down.

Examples 

X varies little in shape, but sometimes it approximates to N.

Examples

Y always has its characteristic form, but in rare cases it approximates to T.

Examples

There is no evidence of the use of Z in cursive hand, according to Father Garrucci.

# IV

## THE GRAFFITI

THE *graffiti* are so numerous that special collections have been made of them. A great many of these inscriptions are very interesting, and worth quoting. We will first take the *graffiti* traced by lovers who confided their passion to the walls of the city.

SCRIBIINTI · MI · DICTAT · AMOR · MONSTRATQVII · CVPIDO
· · · PIIRIIAM · SINII · TII · SI · DIIVS · IISSII · VIILIM

*Scribenti mi dictat Amor, monstratque Cupido* [*ad* ?] *peream ! sine te si deus esse velim !* *

"Love dictates the words I write, and Cupid shows the way. May I perish, if I would wish to be a god without you!"

And again :

VALE · MEA · SAVA · FAC · ME · AMES †

"Dear Sava, love me, I pray you!"

Or,

NIIMO · IIST · BIILIVS · NISI · QVI · AMAVIT ·
MVLIIIII IIM ADVIR ‡

"There is nothing more beautiful than to love."

And :

"Nonia salutes her friend Pagurus."
"My little doll, he who belongs to thee entirely, sends me to thee."

Farther on, there are the good wishes of the gallants of Nola to the girls of Stabiæ.

A very charming *graffito* runs as follows :

* Corp. insc. pomp. 1928. † *Ibid.* 2414. ‡ *Ibid*, 1883.

*Methe Cominiæs atellana amat Chrestum. Corde sit utreisque Venus Pompeiana propitia et semper concordis veivant.**

"Methe, the daughter of Cominie, who plays in the Atellan farces, loves Chrestus with all her heart. May the Venus of Pompei look favourably on them both, and may they always live in harmony together."

Advice is given to lovers in this *graffito:*

*Quisquis amat, calidis non debet fontibus uti: Nam nemo flammas ustas amare potest.* †

"He who loves, must not use hot water, for a burnt man cannot love the flames [of love]."

An angry lover upbraids Venus herself:

*Quisquis amat, veniat, Veneri volo frangere costas*
*Fustibus et lumbos debilitare deae.*
*Si potest illa mihi tenerum pertundere pectus*
*Quit ego non possim caput illæ frangere fuste?* ‡

A courtesan is taunted with the words:

*Felices a[d]ias, perias sed [M]artia [si] te Vili [de] n [o] bi . . . maxima cura . . . a[l] e.*§

The most beautiful of the *graffiti*, however, is an epitaph preserved in the Naples Museum:

OVTINAM · LICEAT · COLLO · COMPLEXA · TENERE · BRACIOLA · ET · TENERIS
OSCULA · FERRE · LABELIS · INUNC · VENTIS · TVA · GAVDIA PVPVLA · CREDE
CREDE. MIHI · LEVIS · EST NATVRA · VIRORVM · SÆPE · EGO · CV MEDIA
VIGILARE · PERDITA · NOCTE · HÆC · MECVM · MEDITAS MVLTOS
FVRTVNA · QVOS SVPSTVLIT ALTE · HOS · MODO · PROIECTOS SVBITO
PRÆCIPITESQVE PREMIT · SIC · VENVS · VT · SVBITO · CONIVNXIT
CORPORA · AMANTVM · DIVIDIT · LVX ET SE
PARIES · QVID AMA ||

O utinam liceat collo complexa tenere
Braciola et teneris [tenera] oscula ferre labellis
I nunc [et] ventis tua gaudia, pupula, crede.
[Pupula] crede mihi, levis est natura vivorum.
Sæpe ego cum media vigilare[m] perdita nocte,
Hæc mecum meditans, multos quos sustulit alte
Fortuna hos modo prcjectos subito præcipitesque premit
Sic Venus ut subito conjunxit corpora amantum
Dividit lux et . . .

* Corp. insc. pomp. 2457. † *Ibid.* 1898. ‡ *Ibid.* 1824.
§ *Ibid.* 1173. || Fiorelli's Guide-book.

"O would I could hold your little arms about my neck and softly kiss your soft lips! Go now, little girl, and give your joys to the winds! Dear girl, believe me, light is the nature of men. Ofttimes when I lay awake at midnight (lost in my thoughts), pondering these things in my mind, I said: 'Many of those whom Fortune has raised aloft are fallen and cast down. So Venus, after she has once linked lovers' bodies, sunders them, and . . .'"

We often find on the walls phrases of this kind:

ROMVLA HIC · CVM STAPYLO MORATVR*

And in another place, among the inscriptions scratched with the style, a reward is offered for a lost article:

VRNA ÆNIA PEREIT · DE · TABERNA
SEI QVIS · RETTVLERIT · DABVNTVR
H · SLXV · SEI · FVREM
DABIT . VNDIS . . . M
IMVAPII . . .†

There are also terms of abuse, such as *senium* (old fool), *plane spado* (eunuch), &c. There is also an electioneering poster with the two conventional abbreviations:

Q · POSTVMIVM · PROCVM
ÆD · O · V · F · SEXTILIVS · VERVS FACIT‡

*I.e.* "Sextilius Verus makes [this inscription] and requests his fellow-citizens to nominate G. Postumius Procus ædile."

Willems states that O. V. F. is an abbreviation of the words, *Oro vos faciatis* (*I request you to nominate*), and we read in an ancient inscription:

M · MARIVM ÆD · FACI · ORO · VOS.§

But in inscriptions of more recent date the three letters O. V. F., or O. F., are substituted for the whole words.

* Corp. insc. pomp. 2060. † *Ibid.* 64. ‡ *Ibid.* 1081. § *Ibid.* 61.

# V

## ELECTIONS AND ELECTIONEERING PLACARDS—THE CORPORATIONS—THE MAGISTRATES

THE walls of Pompei were at all times used as the *album*, where each man recorded his loves and hates; but at one time in the year—that of the municipal elections—they were covered with painted inscriptions in which the names of the candidates were posted up, often regardless of some poster of a previous election.

Willems states* as a result of a careful examination of the originals, that the candidates for the office of ædile who had the most inscriptions were Casellius and Cerrinius; and for the duumvirate, M. Holconius Priscus. These three must have been candidates in the last elections held in Pompei. The number† of their programmes also goes to prove this, and the most recent bills are naturally the most legible.

The electioneering notices that are in existence are later than the earthquake of the year 63 A.D., and amongst the candidates for the month of March 79 A.D. we find the names of several Pompeians whose houses we shall examine later on.

The names of the candidates for the last elections are given by Willems as follows:

For the office of ædile: M. Casellius Marcellus; M. Cerrinius Vatia;

* *Les élections municipales de Pompéi.*

† The number of electioneering notices in Pompei amounts to almost 2000, divided between 116 candidates.

L. Popidius Secundus; C. Cuspius Pansa; Cn. Helvius Sabinus; L. Albucius Celsus.

For the duumvirate: M. Holconius Priscus; L. Caius Secundus; C. Gavius Rufus; C. Calventius Sittius Magnus.

The citizens of Pompei, as we see, had three names, like the Romans of the Republican period—a *prænomen*, a *nomen gentilicium*, and a *cognomen*, which served to distinguish the members of the same family. The *prænomen* and the *nomen gentilicium* or family name (Gens Cassia, Cerrinia, Popidia, Cuspia, &c.) together formed one name, which was handed down from father to son. This was the general rule in Pompei, but some families kept up the old custom of the Republican period, of giving the *prænomen* of the father to the eldest son, and different *prænomina* to the other sons; while the *nomen gentilicium* and the *cognomen* were handed down together.

Pompei, as a free borough, was governed by two bodies of magistrates, each consisting of two members—two duumvirs *jure dicundo*, whose office was somewhat like that of a mayor, and included a certain amount of local jurisdiction, and two ædiles, who were responsible for the drainage of the city, exercised supervision over the markets, and arrested criminals. In all municipia there were also two quæstors, who had charge of the municipal treasury, but at Pompei this office was filled by the duumvirs, according to Willems. Lastly, there was the Communal Council, consisting of one hundred members, the decurions, recruited chiefly from among the ex-magistrates of the city.*

As we have seen in the various inscriptions, candidates were recommended for election by public notices; people who lived in the same quarter of the city combined to support their special candidate, and influential electors recommended their friends:

* According to Mau, the executive of Pompei may be summarised as follows:

*Samnite period.*—A judicial assembly (*Kombenniom*, *conventus*), the head of which was the *medixtucticus*, over a quæstor and two ædiles.

*Roman period.*—Decurions, two duumvirs *juri dicundo*, two ædiles; later, there were the *duumviri quinquennales*, and prefects *juri dicundo*.

ERASTVS CVPIT · ÆD CÆSELLIVM *

Casellius Marcellus, a candidate for the office of ædile, was well supported by no less than eighteen notices posted up by his neighbours. Places on a wall were let by a certain T. Genialis, a baker, to those who wished to find room for electioneering appeals.

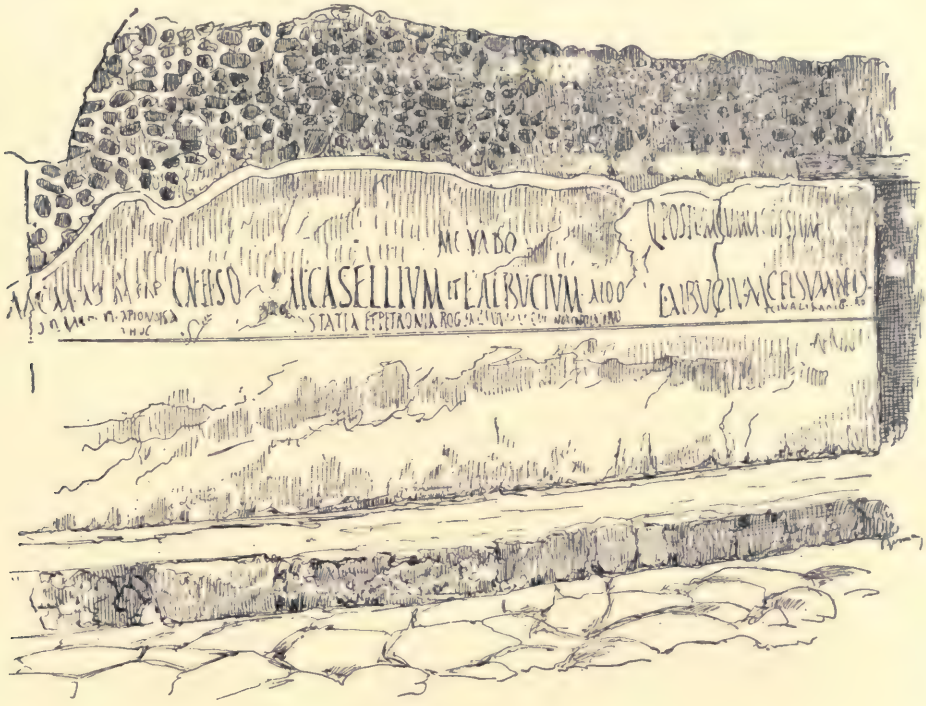
CASELLIVM MARCELLVM
ÆD · ROG · VICINI

The exact number of electoral districts into which Pompei was divided has not been determined. Authorities are agreed in supposing that there must have been six, and three have been already discovered—the *Forenses*, the *Salinienses*, and the *Campanienses*. The *Forenses* must have occupied the district near the Forum; the *Salinienses* the quarter lying between the Gate of the Seashore and the Gate of Herculaneum, not far from the *Salines* of Hercules already mentioned. The *Campanienses* are supposed, from indications in the notices, to have been the inhabitants of the eastern side of the town, near the Gate of Nola. Among them would have been found the descendants of the old Oscan families who had been driven back to this side of Pompei, where there is an Oscan inscription over the city gate. All the candidates, however, have Latin names, irrespective of the nationality of their families. Thus, one N. Popidius Priscus had a retrograde inscription in his house, proving that the same family had occupied the same house for many generations. The Holconii were among the best-known families in Pompei. One Holconius was five times elected duumvir and twice quinquennalis; he was also a *flamen* of Augustus, and had received the title of "patron of the colony." His father also held office in the city, and the great theatre, as we know, was built at the expense of the Holconii. Epidius Sabinus, Vettius, and Pansa, owners of large houses, were also well-known names in Pompei.

If these personages were sure of success in the municipal elections, the

* Corp. insc. pomp. 179.

other candidates were not in the same case; and the elections must have been keenly contested, with ten candidates for four places.* The result of these elections was extremely problematical; hence Cicero writes that it was easier to be a senator at Rome than a decurion at Pompei. All citizens who had attained their majority were electors, but all were not eligible. Candidates had to be over a certain age, and to be possessed of means and of a stainless character. According to Willems, election was secured by a



Electioneering Notices

relative majority of votes in an absolute majority in the number of polling stations.

The elections to fill up municipal offices took place yearly—three months before the expiration of the term of office, which began and ended in July. Women had no votes, but they took a great interest in the elections, and their influence must have been considerable, for they publicly recommended their candidates for office. The following is a reproduction of an electioneering notice:

* Willems.

M · CASELLIVM · ET · L · ALBVCIVM
STATIA · ET · PETRONIA · ROG
TALES · CIVES · IN · COLONIA · IN · PERPETVO

"M. Casellius and L. Albacius are recommended for office by Stabia and Petronia. May there always be such citizens in the colony!"

The candidates who were most vigorously supported, however, were those recommended by the various corporations of Pompei, as follows:

The goldsmiths (*orifices*) demanded Cuspius Pansa as ædile.

The pastry cooks (*clibanarii*) were in favour of Trebius.

The poulterers (*gallinarii*) supported the candidatures of Epidius, Suettius, and Helvius.

The fishermen (*piscicapi*) preferred Popidius Rufus.

The perfumers (*unguentarii*) and the barbers (*tonsores*) recommended Trebius.

The dyers (*offectores*) voted for Postumius Proculus.

The fullers (*fullones*), of whom there was a large number at Pompei, supported various candidates, among them Ceius Secundus.

The clothiers (*sagarii*) were for Rufus.

All the fruitsellers (*pomarii*) and Helvius Vestalis were in favour of M. Holconius Priscus. They also recommended Vettius, Enius Sabinus, and Cerrinius.

The husbandmen (*agricolæ*) adopted Casellius as their candidate.

The cartwrights (*lignarii plostrarii*) named Marcellus.

The woodsellers (*lignarii*) were in favour of Holconius.

The bakers (*pistores*) supported the candidature of Julius Polybius.

There is also another notice in favour of this last candidate:

C · IVLIVM · POLYBIVM
ÆD · O · V · F · PANEM · BONVM · FERT*

"Name C. Julius Polybius ædile; he brings good bread."

The porters (*saccarii*) record their vote for Cerrinius Vatia and for Aulus Vettius.

* Corp. insc. pomp. 429.

All the muleteers (*muliones*) were for Cuspius Pansa and Julius Polybius.

Even the worshippers of Isis (*Isiaci*) and of Venus (*Veneri*) took part in the canvassing:

CVSPIVM · PANSAM · ÆD
POPIDIVS NATALIS · CLIENS · CVM · ISIACIS · ROG *

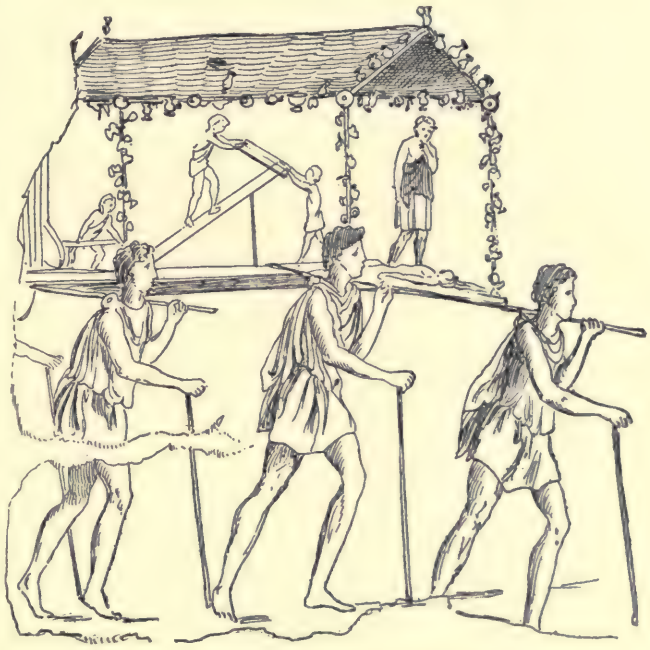
PAQVIVM · D · I · D
VENERI · ROGANT · †

On some occasions every one is in favour of the same candidate:

L · POPIDIVM · SECVNDVM
ÆDILEM · POPVLVS ROGAT ‡

Even the very "ball-players" (*pilicrepi*) had their candidate, Vettius Firmus.

At Pompei, as we see, every corporation was keen to defend its own interests, and each group united for the contest: every elector who was a member of a professional association voted fully cognisant of the politics of his party. Thus representatives of the guild of carpenters are depicted in a painting in Pompei, with the *baculus* in their hands, and carrying on their shoulders the *ferculum*, on which stands a miniature building hung with small vases. Dædalus, the patron of carpenters, stands over the body of his nephew Icarus, whom he has just slain by piercing his head with a nail.



Carpenters. (Painting in the Naples Museum)

* Corp. insc. pomp. 101. † *Ibid.* 1146. ‡ *Ibid.* 1045.

Statuettes of sawyers and planers complete the group, in allusion to Dædalus as the inventor of the saw and plane. This painting has a curious likeness to the well-known *chef-d'œuvre* carried in procession by the carpenters with stout canes in their hands on the Feast of their patron St. Joseph, in modern times.*

These guilds and corporations were very prosperous, and their members met together in the *schola*, a hall given for their use by some influential patron, such as the priestess Eumachia, who protected the fullers. The *schola* had its chapel and its patron gods, and the *album* of the corporation contained a list of all the members. The advantage of these unions was, that the corporation brought actions to defend claims, and even exacted privileges, where a single individual would have failed, and thus protected its members from injustice †

In addition to these professional guilds, there were whimsical societies which required no more from their members than tastes in common. Members of these clubs all voted for the same candidate to a man; the *Society of Sleepers* (*dormientes*) and the *Cut-purses* (*furunculi*) voted for Vatia.

VATIAM · ÆD · ROGANT
MACERIO · DORMIENTES
VNIVERSI · CVM . . .‡

VATIAM · ÆD
FVRVNCVLI · ROG §

A candidate of the Society of Sleepers must have been elected, for a *graffito* has been discovered which runs: "Macerior begs the ædile to prevent the people from making a noise in the streets, disturbing the good folks who are asleep." These uproarious Pompeians must have been the *Late-Drinkers*, who formed a society the members of which did not always return to their homes before morning. They were in favour of Cerrinius Vatia:

* In a painting in the catacombs there is a master-carpenter, in his "gala dress," holding a long cane with a knob like those used by vergers. (See Saglio, art. *Baculus*.)

† The corporations of the *ancien régime* in France before 1789 were founded on the ancient corporations, which modern syndicates are endeavouring to re-establish.

‡ Corp. insc. pomp. 575. § *Ibid.* 576.

M · CERRINIVM
VATIAM · ÆD · O · V · F · SERI · BIBI
VNIVERSI · ROGANT
SGR · FLORVS · CVM · FRVCTO . . .*

Sometimes the inscription proposes a mutual exchange of good offices: *Sabinum ædilem Procule fac et ille te faciet.* "Proculus, name Sabinus ædile, and he will name you in turn!"

Nearly all the inscriptions are painted on the wall at about the height of a man, and it is very unusual to find them lower down, for the outer walls of the houses were covered, below a certain level, with a coat of whitewash or stucco, forming a kind of dado, which is, as a rule, untouched by the advertiser.

Album of the Building of Eumachia. Wall of the Street of Abundance

Special places, *alba*, were used for this purpose; and on various public buildings there were panels such as those we see on the Building of Eumachia, or in a picture in the Naples Museum representing people reading the notices. The municipal edicts and the orders of the Emperors, however, were not only published in this official manner; there were manuscript journals for this purpose, of which a small number of copies were made and sent all over the Roman Empire.†

* Corp. insc. pomp. 581.

† Pliny relates that these "*Acta populi Romani*" mention the various facts he himself quotes. Tacitus also tells us that these daily *acta* (journals) were eagerly read at Rome, especially during meals. Dion Cassius relates that Livia had the names of those who had the honour of coming to salute her in the morning published in the annals—a piece of flattery that was much appreciated by them. The example set by princes was followed by private persons, who noted down everything that happened to them, as we see in the Trimalchio of Petronius.

Hitherto not a single book or papyrus has been discovered, and no library, though a library was found at Herculaneum. Yet Pompei, though it was not an intellectual centre, must have had some inhabitants who owned libraries. Poets were much appreciated at Pompei; fragments of their works were scribbled on the walls by the common people; and the sign of a bookseller has been found near the Gate of Stabiæ. All literary works no doubt perished in the catastrophe.

# VI

## THE RECEIPTS OF THE BANKER JUCUNDUS—WAX TABLETS—THE NOTATION IN USE

AFTER the *graffiti*, the principal specimens of cursive writing are the tablets of the banker Jucundus, whose head is reproduced here, from a bronze bust standing on a marble column upon which is the inscription :

GENIOL · NOSTRI FELIX L ·

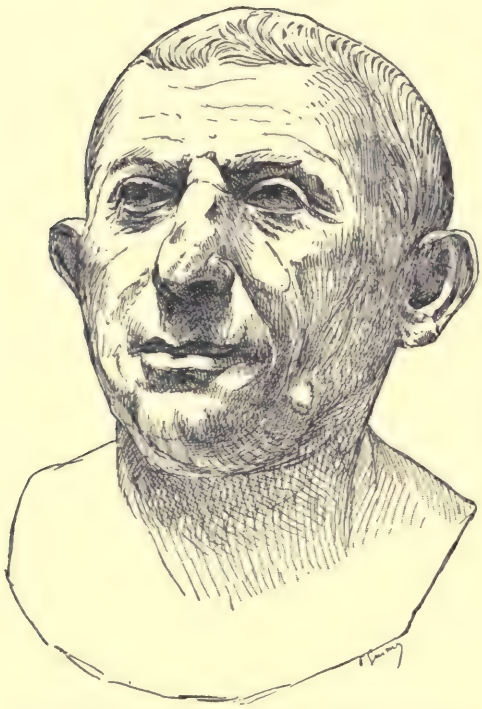
"To the genius of our Lucius, Felix erected this."

The banker is a man of some fifty years, with shrewd and distrustful eyes, an obstinate mouth, and the satisfied expression of a selfish epicurean. He has a little wart at the base of his left cheek, recalling the pendulous gland of the satyrs, many of whose characteristics he seems to have shared.

His business in life was buying and selling, as is shown by the wax tablets found in his house in 1875, in a box placed in a sort of niche or recess above a door.

These semi-carbonised tablets consist of small panels of pine, held together by a framework, and connected by cords passed through holes bored on one side. They were taken to Naples with infinite precautions, but they split and crumbled when they came in contact with the air, and it was only by dint of the greatest patience and skill that Professor de Petra, Director of the Naples Museum, succeeded in deciphering them.* They are receipts, written in Latin, with the exception of two in Greek. Out of the 132 that Jucundus had signed, 127 have been translated, and 116 refer to sales by

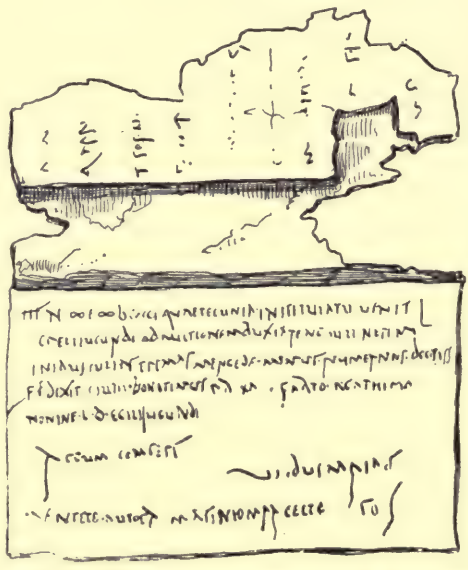
* *Le tavolette cerate di Pompei.* By Professor de Petra.



Bronze Bust of the Banker L. Cæcilius Jucundus
(Naples Museum)

auction in which the banker acted as auctioneer. De Petra remarks that a sale by auction was not a forced sale demanded by the creditors, but was the usual procedure in ordinary sale; and that the words *auctionari* and *auctionem facere* became synonymous with *vendere*. The banker Jucundus, who presided at the sales,* made his profit on them by lending buyers the ready money they needed for their purchases, at the rate of 2 per cent. per month, on bills which fell due at the end of the month. He ran up the bidding at the sale, taking his commission on the prices as well as on the total of the transactions. Not content with these profits, Cæcilius was also manager of the communal estates, and farmed out pasture-lands, a field, and a fuller's shop, for the municipia.

The following is a transcription of one of the documents relating to a contract of Cæcilius Jucundus:



Wax Tablet. Receipt of the Banker, L. C. Jucundus
(Naples Museum)

"HS. N. I ↃↃ ∞∞∞ DLXII. Quæ pecunia in stipulatum L. Cæcili venit ad auctionem Pulliæ Lampuridis mercede minus.

"Persoluta habere se dixit Pullia Lampuris ab L. Cæcilio Jucundo.

"Act. Pomp. X. K. Januar Nerone Cæsare II. L. Cæsio Martia Cos.

"L. Vedi Cereti, A. Cæcili Philolog., Cn Helvi., Apollon., N. Fabi Crusero, D. Vole. Thalli, Sex. Pomp. Axsioch., P. Sexti Primi, C. Vibi Alcimi.

"Nerone Cæsare II. L. L. Cæsio Martiale Cos —X. K. Januarius Sex. Pompeius Axiochus scripsi rogatu Pulliæ Lampuridis eam accepisse ab L. Cæcilio Jucundo sester nummum octo

* Boissier, *Promenades archéologiques.*

millia quingenti sexages dumpundius ob auctionem ejus ex interrogatione facta tabellarum signatarum."

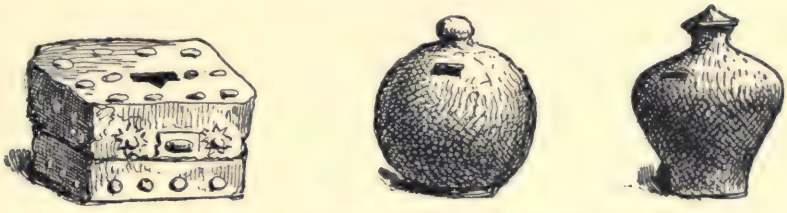
*Translation.*—" Sesterces 8562 (£66 17s. 9d.). This sum is placed to the credit of Pullia Lampuris, as the proceeds of the sale by auction (*ad auctionem*) held by L. Cæcilius, with the expenses deducted.

" Pullia Lampuris declares she has received the entire amount from the hands of Cæcilius Jucundus.

" Made at Pompei, the tenth day before the Kalends of January (December 23, 57 A.D.), during the consulate of Nero Cæsar, consul for the second time, and L. Cæsius Martialis.

(Here follow the names of the eight witnesses.)

" In the consulate of Nero Cæsar, consul for the second time, and of Cæsius Martialis, on the tenth day before the Kalends of January, at the request of Pallia Lampuris, we, Sex. Pompeius Axiochus, bear witness, in writing, that Pullia Lampuris has received from Lucius Jucundus the sum of eight thousand five hundred and sixty sesterces, and a *duumpundum*,* the proceeds of a sale by auction, in accordance with a signed and sealed agreement."



Terra-cotta Money boxes (Museum of Pompei)

Several of Jucundus' agreements are composed of five tablets, of which the first and last are used as covers for the rest, and are blank; the second tablet gives the agreement, the third the names of the witnesses, and the fourth an abstract of the agreement.

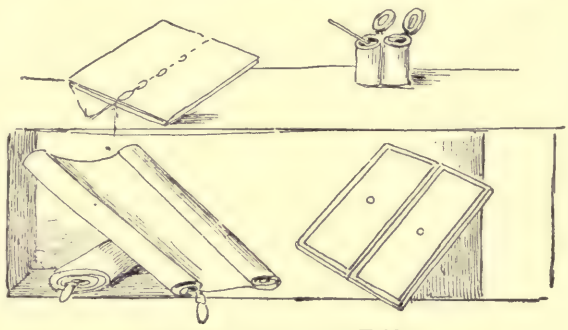
The other receipts refer to credits granted to Pollia Messis, Gn. Alexius Cryseus, N. Blæsius Fructio, Umbricia Antiochis, &c., and to the purchase of a slave at the price of 2500 sesterces (£20).

The tablets, covered with wax, were written on with a pointed instrument of iron, bone, or bronze, called the *stylus* or *graphium*. The broad end of the style was used to erase mistakes and spread the wax afresh. Hence the well-known expression, *vertere stylum* (to turn the style), which means to correct a work. These tablets were used as rough drafts of

* The coins in use in Pompei were: The *as*, the unit of value in Roman money; the *double as* (*duumpundum*); the *quadrans* = $\frac{1}{4}$ *as*; the *sextans* = $\frac{1}{6}$ *as*. The silver and copper *sestertius* = $2\frac{1}{2}$ *asses*, or about 2*d*. The *denarius* = 4 *sesterces*. The *quinarius* (or *half-denarius*) = about 4*d*., was a silver coin; the *bigatus*, one of the most ancient Roman coins, and the *quadrigatus* were so called because the coins were stamped with a car for two or four horses. This coin was the *silver denarius*. The *gold denarius* was the *aureus*, and was worth from 18*s*. 4*d*. to 21*s*. 8*d*.

works which were afterwards copied out with an *arundo* or *calamus* (reed pen) or *penna* (quill pen) on to *papyrus* or parchment (*membramen*). A bronze pen shaped like our modern pen was found in Pompei on June 26, 1875, together with some slabs prepared for coating with wax.*

The figures written at the top of Jucundus' agreement are arranged in a somewhat curious fashion. The Roman numbers, up to a thousand, were denoted by capital letters, which we have adopted. The number 500 was originally represented by IↃ, which afterwards became D; the letter M (1000), which was a Greek sign, was not always in use. At Pompei the number 1000 was written CIↃ, or denoted by a sign like a modern eight placed horizontally, ∞. The number written on the tablet may therefore be deciphered as follows:



Inkstand, Papyrus, and Tablet

IↃↃ stands for five thousand, for the number 10,000 is written CCIↃↃ. Then came the three signs ∞ ∞ ∞, which represent three thousand, and the two numbers added together give 8000. The other figures follow the notation still in use.

Among the unusual variations from this notation are the following; the number 200 is written CC, or expressed by an S placed horizontally, ↀ. 2000 is written IIↀ, but the last sign is only an indication of place, and did not count by itself. 50,000 was written IↃↃↃ; 90,000 = LXXXXↀ, and 100,000 = CCCIↃↃↃ. Other signs were used in addition to the regular numerical notation, and the Greek θ was equivalent to 1000. Above a hundred thousand, special signs were probably used.

* Declarations of love sent to a mistress were often written on waxed tablets, and were then called *ritelliani*.

# VII

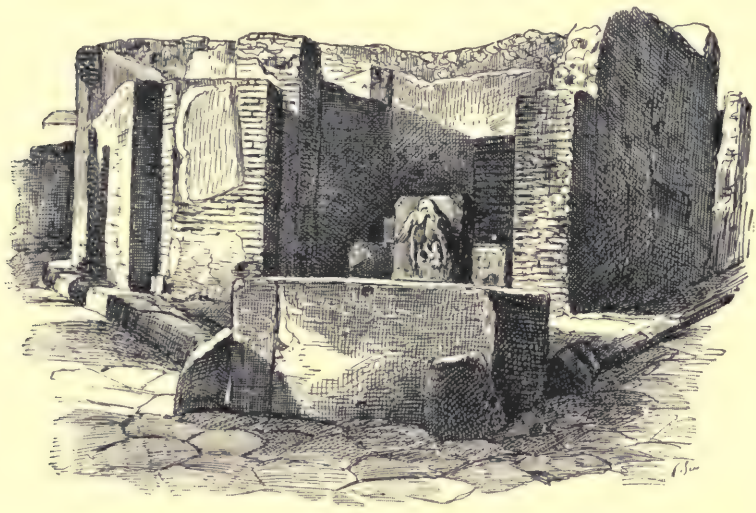
## THE TAVERNS—THE POPINA, THE THERMOPOLIA—THE INNS—THE PUBLIC KITCHENS

IN the course of our study we have had occasion to refer to various callings mentioned in inscriptions. We have seen the protected trade-guilds defending their rights in the struggle for existence; we have caught a glimpse of the libertines, the lovers, the drunkards, the candidates and electors of Pompei, in the *graffiti*. The paintings in the houses show us the very habit of the men, "their form and vesture." Their history becomes complete, the picture takes on life, the Pompeians pass before us. We must now follow them into the taverns, inns, and wine-shops of the city.

There were wine-shops at all the crossways, and even in other places. In fairness we must add that there were always fountains opposite. These places were called by a variety of names: there were the *œnopolium*, *taberna vinaria*, and *caupona*, where only drinks were sold, and the *popina*, or "cook-shop," where the meat generally came from the sacrifices, and was sold to dealers by the *popæ;* whence the name. In the shop-windows various dainties were placed to bring in customers, and food was sometimes put into glass jars filled with water to increase its size and attract passers-by. "Tarts smoking hot from the oven" were also sold there. "Slaves, go to the *popina;* off with you!" writes Plautus in the Prologue to the *Pœnulus*. These shops were chiefly frequented by the lower classes, who sat there drinking *posca*—a drink composed of

water, sour wine, and beaten eggs — served them by the *copa*, or barmaid.

There was also another kind of tavern, the *thermopolium*, where hot drinks were sold, murrhina, mulled wine, and hydromelum. These houses were used as places of assignation and brothels, and Plautus satirises the "philosophers" who are always at the wine-shop: "If they have made a little money, they wrap their faces in cloaks and go and get a hot drink."* For these visits the Pompeians covered their heads with the *cucullus*, a hooded cloak, to avoid recognition. One of the best known of these houses, much frequented by the citizens, was the inn kept by Albinus, whose name, ALBINVS, served as a sign for his house, which was situated near the Gate of Herculaneum. In the stable were found the bones of horses and mules, the tyres of wheels and fragments of cars.



Fountain of the Eagle and the Hare, behind which is the Inn of Fortunata

The footway was levelled in front of the door to allow carriages to enter, and iron rings were fixed to the walls of the courtyard. There were two rooms for travellers and two *thermopolia*, the inner *thermopolium* being a private room.

The inn of Fortunata, whose name is cut on a pillar outside, was near the centre of the town, and stood behind a fountain representing an eagle carrying off a hare. At the entrance of another tavern is a dwarf leading an elephant, surrounded by the serpent, the *genius loci*,

* Curculio, Act II. 3.

with an inscription recording that Sittius had restored the elephant: "*Sittias restituit elepantu(m)*" (*sic*).

Customers must have been particularly attracted by the following notice:

HOSPITIVM · HIC · LOCATVR TRICLINIVM · CVM · TRIBVS · LECTIS ET COMM[ODIS] *

"To let, a triclinium, with three beds and every convenience."

Farther on another notice, written in Oscan, points out the way to a tavern:

"Traveller, if you walk hence to the second turning you will find Sarinus, son of Publius, who keeps an inn. Farewell!"

Another innkeeper has an amusing notice in praise of the quality of his hams:

*Ubi perna cocta est, si convivæ apponitur,*
*Non gustat pernam, lingit ollam aut caccabum.*†

"Once one of my hams is cooked and set before a customer, before he tastes it, he licks the saucepan in which it was cooked."

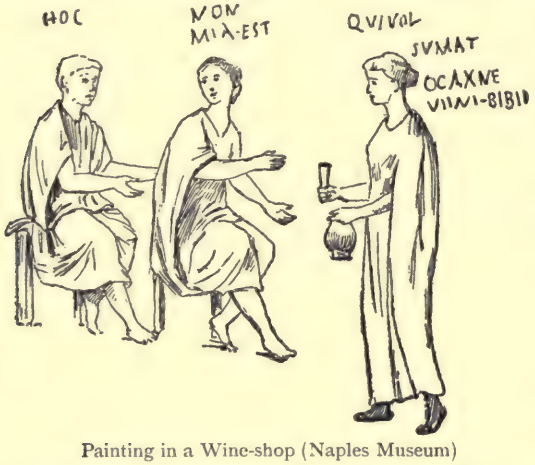
There were many of these inns in Pompeii. In the inns kept by Phœbus and by Perennius Nympheroïs, houses of the same class as the *thermopolium*, paintings of several tavern-scenes were found, drawn on a panel divided into four compartments, with a written commentary. In the first of these, two young men are embracing, and one of them is saying, *Nolo cum murtali;* in the second, a woman resists the overtures of a young man, while the *copa* who brings in the wine asks whom she is to serve. In the third division two men are playing at dice and one calls a six. "Not three, but two," returns the other, holding out two fingers of his hand after the fashion of the modern Italian playing *mora*. In the fourth division the two gamblers have come to blows for an unmentionable reason, and the innkeeper turns them out, bidding them go

Painting in a Wine-shop (Naples Museum)

* Corp. insc. pomp. 807.

† *Ibid.* 1896.

and fight elsewhere. The spelling of the inscriptions is not that of the educated. This Low Latin, full of Græcisms, was the language of the common people, whose manners and customs, as represented in these tavern scenes, are very much those of the *Satyricon.*



Painting in a Wine-shop (Naples Museum)

Like the walls of the streets, the walls of the wine-shops were scribbled over with *graffiti,* full of personal allusions to the keeper of the tavern or its customers. The following statement comes from Edon's wine-shop, the haunt of the *Late-Drinkers:*

[H]EDONII . DICIT
ASSIBVS . HIC
BIBITVR · DIPVNDIVIIII
SI DIIDIIRIS IIIIII LIORA
BIBIIS QVANTVS
SI DIIDIIRIS VINA · F
FALIIRNA BIB*

"Edon says, here for an *as* one can drink; for two *asses* one can get better drink. What price must one pay for Falernian wine?"

Painting in a Wine-shop (Naples Museum)

Painting in a Wine-shop (Naples Museum)

The well-known "*Da fridam pusillum*" ("Give me a little cold water") is the exclamation of a soldier carrying a lance and wearing large white boots. This picture is reproduced in a coloured plate;† the original, like all such drawings, is very rough in execution. It comes from the *thermopolium* in the Street of Mercury, where there are three other groups representing scenes not found in other paintings.

* Corp. insc. pomp. 1679 bis.

† Coloured plate No. III.

POMPEIAN PORTRAITS

1. — REGION IX — INSULA I — No 7

2. — REGION VII — INSULA I — No 47
(*House of Siricus*)

3. — REGION VI — INSULA VII — No 21

4. — REGION IX — INSULA V — No 11

5. — REGION VIII — INSULA IV — No 4
(*House of Holconius*)

6. — REGION IX — INSULA V — No 11

In one of them, four people, two of them wearing the *cucullus*, are seated round a three-legged table, eating and drinking. Black-puddings

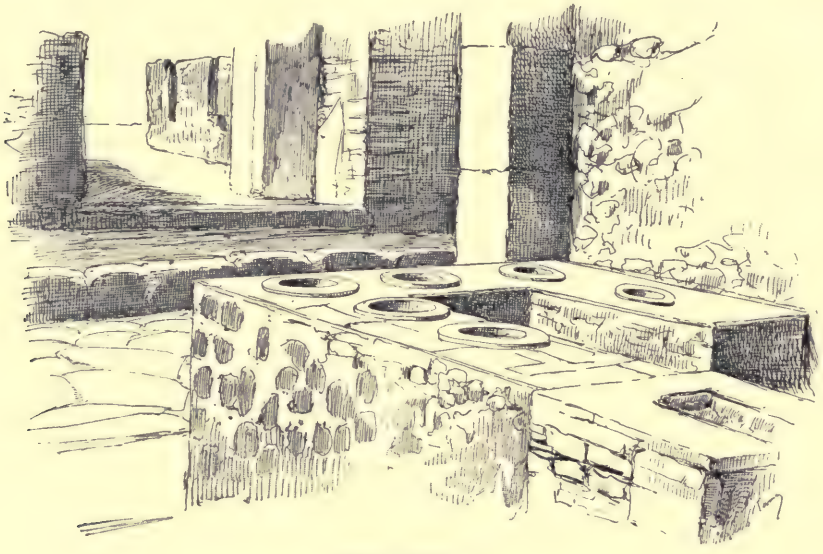
Paintings in the Thermopolium of the Street of Mercury

and light-coloured sausages (*boviles botulus*) are hung up on the *carnarium*, which was a frame with hooks for meat.

Farther on are some villainous-looking dice-players. Another group represents the *copa* asking a man wearing the *angusticlavis* to pay his score. Lastly, there are people drinking, muffled in their cloaks (*lacerna*), and

shod with black slippers, and a youth making love to a girl who raises a glass to her lips.

The last picture, which is even more defaced than the rest, shows how certain liquids were conveyed from place to place. The hide of an ox, sewn together, and filled through the opening at the neck, was mounted on a waggon. The large leather skin, when full, looked very like a hooped barrel. The opening at the neck was tied up, and a smaller one was made



Public Kitchen

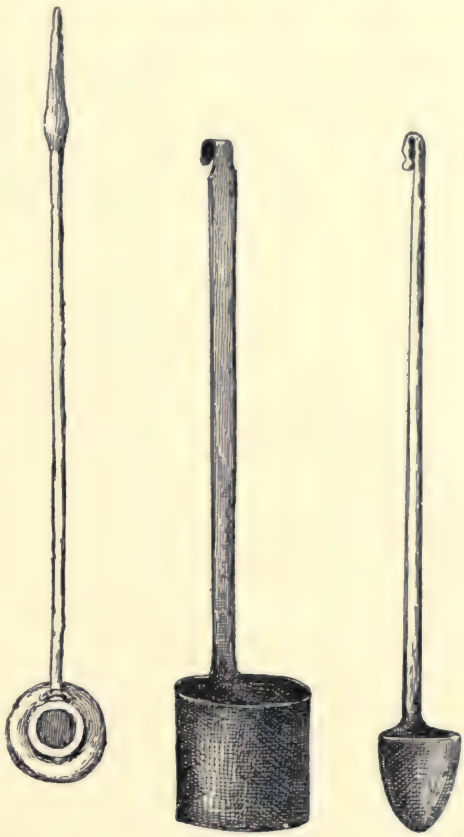
in the lower part of the hide near the tail, thus forming a flexible funnel through which the liquor was poured into the *amphoræ*.

From the tap-room of the tavern we see the wine-shop and the street; opposite the shop stands the Fountain of Mercury. Outside, on the foot-way that runs by the houses, there is a counter, on the top of which are round holes to fit earthenware jars which rested on the ground. On one side of it there are little marble steps, on which were placed the various utensils used, *œnochoæ*, *canthari*, and so on.

On the walls were hung the *simpulum* and the *trua*—ladles with long handles which were used to draw wine from large vessels—and wine-strainers. Some counters, especially those of the *thermopolia*, had at their inner end a special place where an earthenware or metal chafing-dish was

placed, and kettles for boiling over a slow fire, like the Russian samovars. Sometimes there is an inner room, with a stove against a wall, in which is an opening into the shop ; tarts were handed through this to those customers who liked them smoking hot.

The tavern has a large counter of marble of various colours, and a picture at the back of the *taberna* representing a hermaphrodite Bacchus and a Silenus. This important wine-shop is the only one in the Street of Nola, one of the main thoroughfares of the city (*Decumanus major*). It was evidently the fashionable wine-shop of the quarter and much frequented by customers who liked good wine; the size of the rooms behind the shop suggests that secret parties of pleasure were held here.



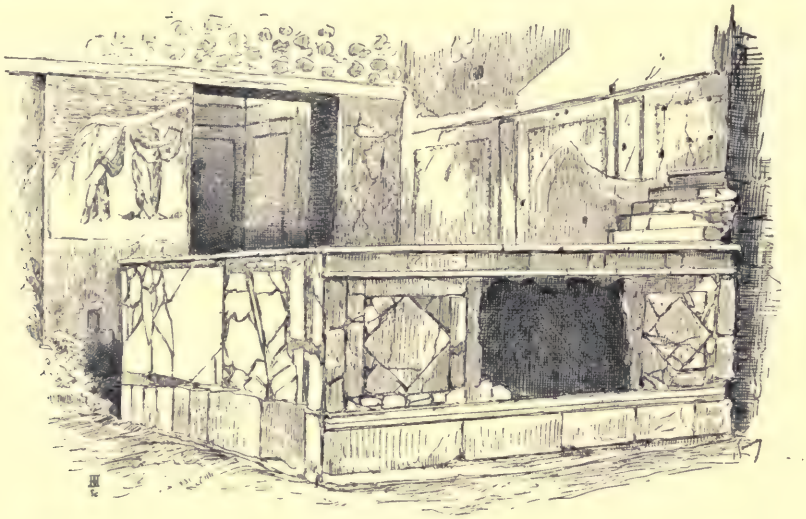
Bronze Utensils for drawing Wine from the craters ; simpulum, truæ (Naples Museum)

But the principal inn of Pompei, where travellers and their horses put up, lies outside the city, in the Pagus Augustus Felix, on one side of the Way of Tombs.

Small Bronze Utensils for decanting and drawing Liquids, truellæ (Naples Museum)

This inn consisted of a long building with arcades, and covered shops in terraces. Travellers lodged in the upper rooms, which commanded a fine view over the sea and the towns on the coast. The stables, where pieces of the harness of mules and spokes of wheels were found, are reached through

inner courtyards with fountains. But there is nothing to show that



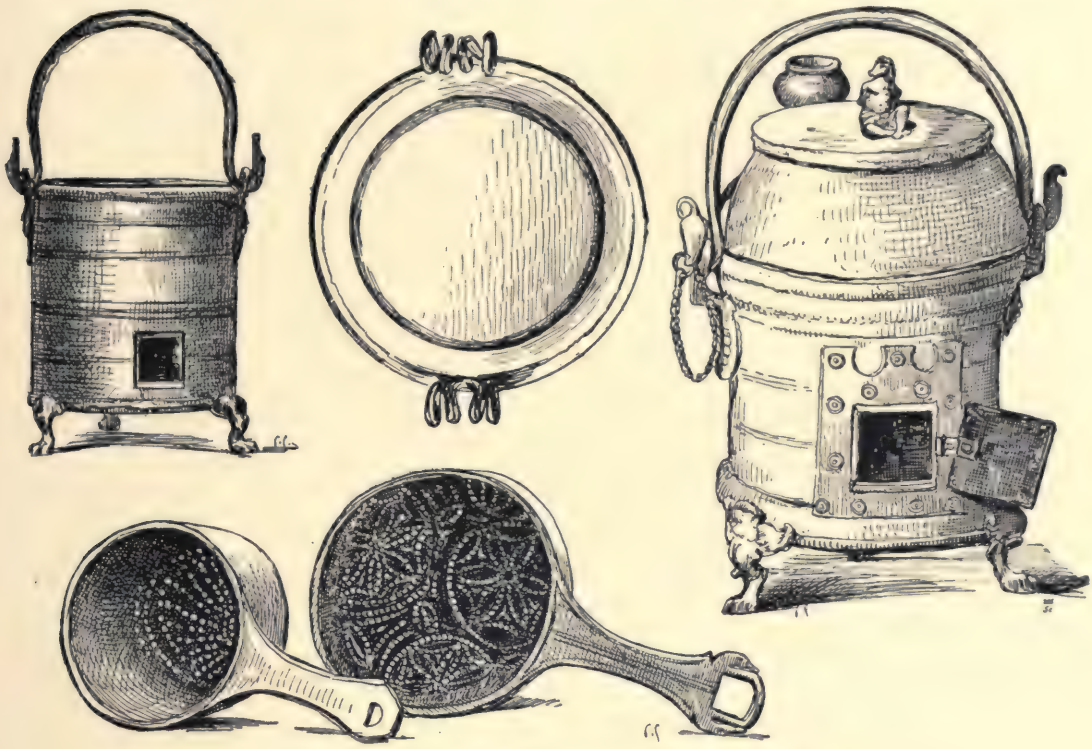
Marble Counter in the Wine-shop of the Hermaphrodite Bacchus, Street of Nola

travellers took their meals at this inn; taverns were numerous in Pompei

Hostelry in the Way of Tombs

from which meals could be sent in to customers. *Popinæ* (eating-houses)

sold food, and dishes were certainly *sent out*, or fetched, for the public




Dish, Chafing-dishes, and Wine-strainers (Naples Museum)

kitchens have not always rooms large enough for diners, and, on the other hand, the small houses in Pompei have no kitchens.

# VIII

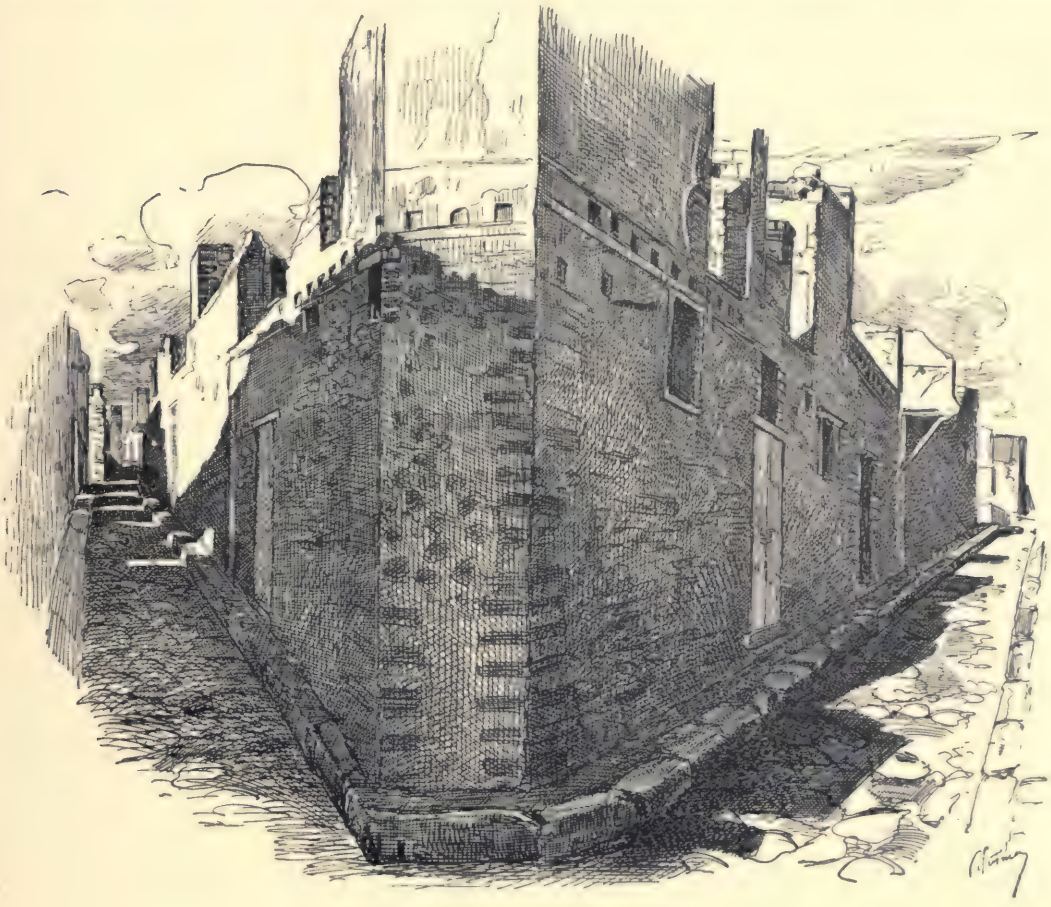
## THE LUPANARIA AND THE CELLÆ MERETRICIÆ

THERE are several lupanaria in Pompei; one of these houses consists of a vestibule, into which open small cells furnished with a stone bed, which was covered by a mattress and cushions. These cells are exceedingly narrow, hardly more than two yards square. Some of them have a little window opening on the street, while others were lighted and ventilated by an opening above the door looking into the vestibule, where the *lena* presided behind a partition. Appropriate paintings decorate the vestibule, and the walls of the cells are covered with *graffiti.** The impression of some coins of Galba, Vespasian, and Titus are to be seen stamped on the stucco

The Vestibule of a Lupanar

* VICTORIA INVICTA HIC.——BENE FVT . . . DIINARIO

when it was new. The *latrinæ* are under the wooden staircase which leads to the upper rooms, very little of which now remains. These rooms were reached from the next street, the Street of the Balcony, for the lupanar is the corner house between two roads. The main



The Via del Balcone and Via del Lupanare

entrance leading to the vestibule has a characteristic emblem over the door.

Very little was found in the house, only a bronze saucepan (*cacabus*) full of onions and beans, and a bronze candelabrum to light the vestibule, which must have been very dark when the upper storey was intact.

Another of these houses was found in the *Vico dei Scienzati*—named after the men of science who, in 1845, were present at the discovery of this lupanar, from which is taken the *graffito* signed "*Venus fisica pompeiana*."

Besides these houses where the *scratiæ* lived in common, there were single *cellæ meretriciæ* in certain alleys; they are on the ground floor, and open directly into the street, having no communication with the houses in which they are imbedded. These cells, like the others, have a stone bed which occupies half the room. Not far away there are taverns where the *scratiæ* kept watch on the streets. The *Vico Storto*, the winding street, was the favourite haunt of debauchees, and by the doors of houses in this street were found bronze and terra-cotta lamps, ornamented with phallic emblems. The rooms of these houses had characteristic paintings on the walls, which are now obliterated.

Cella meretricia

Opposite the house of Siricus, not far from the lupanar, there is another of these cells, with a well-worn doorstep. According to the ancient custom, the name of the "Venus of the Crossways" who occupied it was no doubt inscribed over the entrance, and immense serpents are painted beside the door, on the wall of the neighbouring house.

# IX

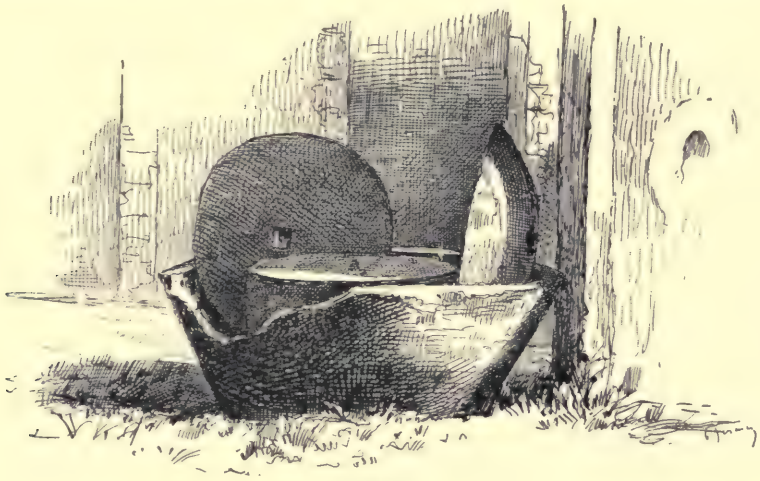
## THE SHOPS AND RECEPTACLES IN USE—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

THE frequented streets of the city were lined with shops which drove a brisk trade. At a dealer in liquids, vessels full of clotted oil were found; paints were discovered in some shops, and may be seen in the museums at Naples and Pompei. Many shops were let, as we know, as separate establishments without living rooms, and the houses of rich landowners stood close to the shops, which even sometimes formed the façade of their dwellings. In these, the stewards and servants sold the produce from their master's estate. Large quantities of receptacles and amphoræ of all shapes and sizes have been found in these shops, where they may still be seen, standing up against the wall, in their old places.

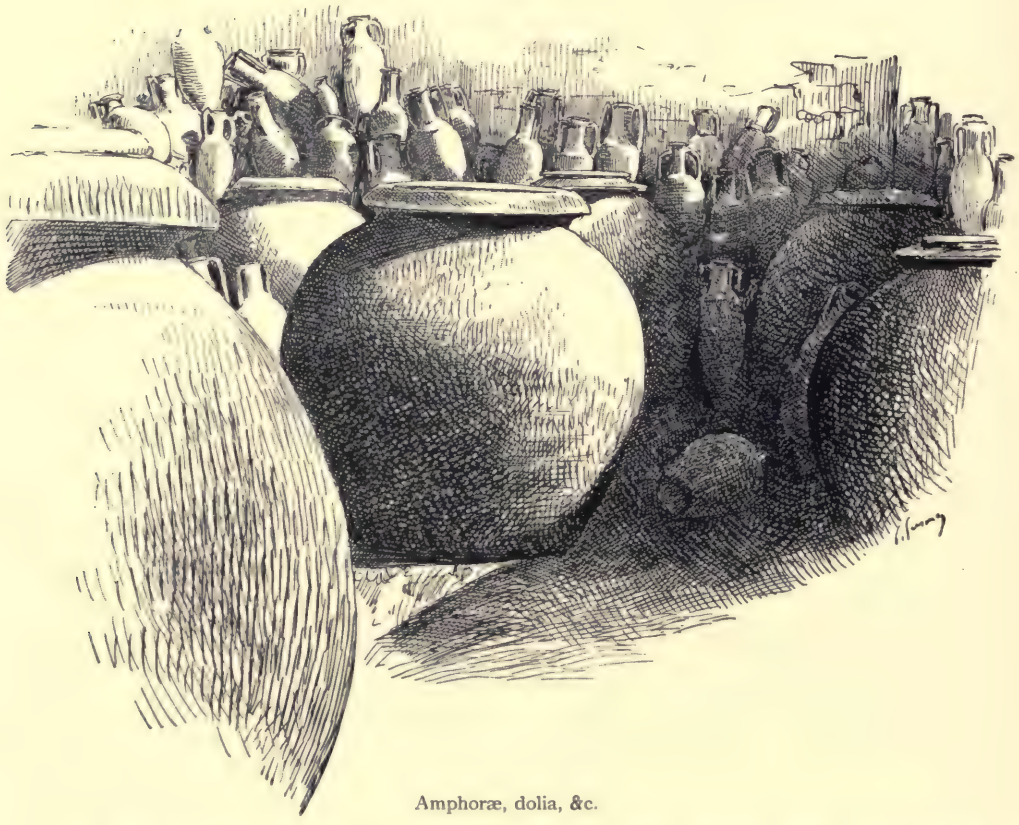
A Provision Dealer's

Near the Forum, the shops have been used in modern times as depôts for pottery; they contain a fine collection of *dolia*, *cadi*, and *ollæ* (large jars of various sizes), and of *amphoræ* found near the Sarno. Nearly all these vessels have the names of their owners marked on them: *Marcus*

*Lucius Quartio*, and the name of the maker; *Onesimus fecit.—Vitalis Gallici.*



Oil Mill



Amphoræ, dolia, &c.

In the little museum at Pompei there are some fine specimens of amphoræ, on which are the following inscriptions:

IIPAPHRODITI SVM TANGIIRII MII NOLI

G · F · SCOMBR · SCAVRI UMBRICI . . . EX OFFICINA

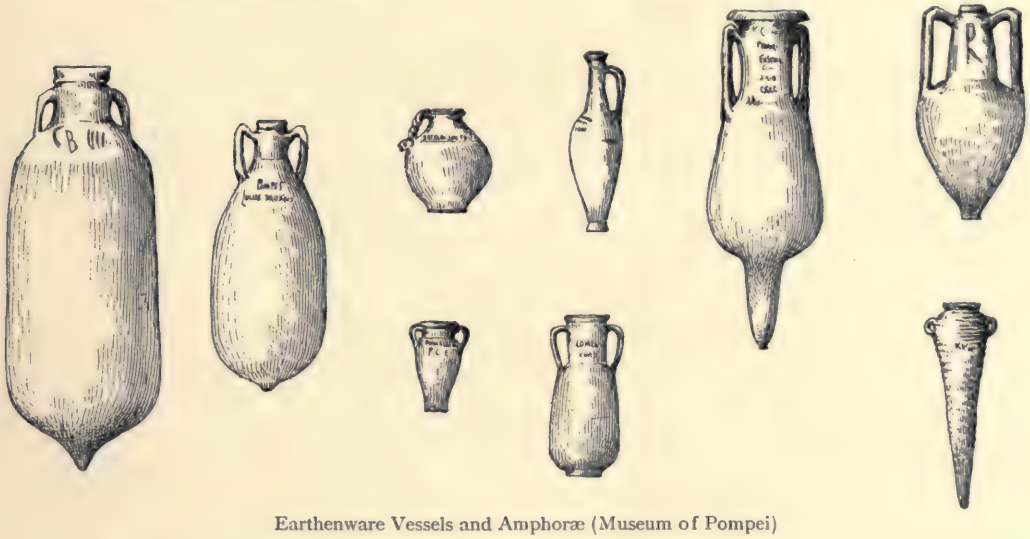
Some small terra-cotta vessels have the names of their contents marked on them:

OLIVA ALBA — LOMEN — LIQVAMEN OPTIMVM

On the amphoræ containing wine, the date of the wine is also marked. These inscriptions are painted in red, while the names of the owners and makers are stamped with a seal on the moist clay.

TI · CLAVDIVS CÆSAR
SIN · CANVTIVS COS ·

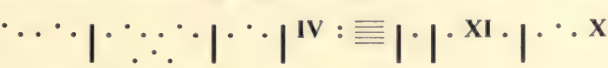
VESVIN
IMP · VESP · VI COS ·



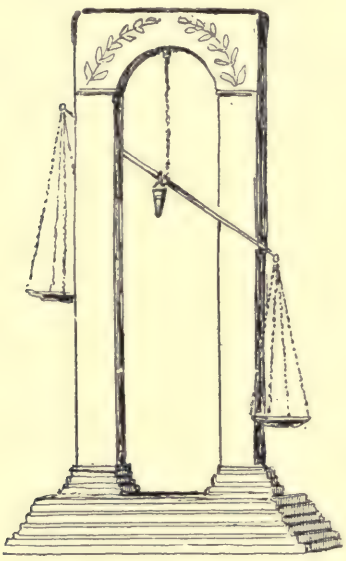
Earthenware Vessels and Amphoræ (Museum of Pompei)

The shape of each amphora indicated its contents, and the number of *congii*, *sextarii*, and *heminæ* it contained. The *sextarius* was the tenth part of a *congius*, and the *hemina* or *cotyla* was the twelfth part. The *cheme* was the smallest measure. The *sextarius* was used both as a dry and liquid measure; it was the twelfth part of a *modius*, the largest Roman measure (about two gallons), and the third part of an amphora which held wine, oil, grains, &c. The *congius* corresponded to a weight of ten pounds, as is proved by the last letters traced on one of these vessels: P . X (for *pundo decem*).

A curious hydrometer, in the form of a saucepan, was found in Pompei. It had the following signs engraved on the handle:



A small chain, placed on the handle, had a weight attached to it, which marked the level of the liquid in the vessel.



Scales, *libra* (Naples Museum)

There is also a balance with one scale (*statura*); on one side of its beam are the figures from I to XIII, and on the other side those from X to XXXX. One of the steel-yards shown at the Naples Museum had been stamped according to the standard measure in the Capitol, under Vespasian, in the year 77 A.D., as the inscription records: IMP · VESP · AVG · IIX · T · IMP · AVG · F · VI · COS · EXACT · IN · CAPITO.

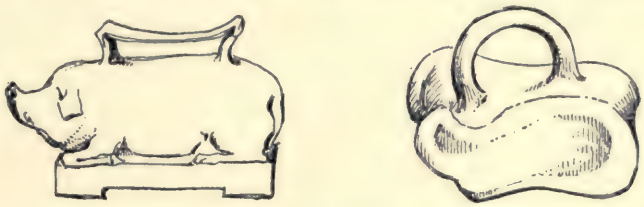
A standard of dry measures existed at Pompei. An inscription records that Aulus Clodius Flaccus and Numerus Arellianus, duumvirs *jure dicundo*, were by decree of the decurions charged to verify the public standards of measures.* Balances with two scales (*libra*) were also found, but they were chiefly used to weigh light objects, and more particularly by goldsmiths, as we see in a painting in Pompei. At the Naples Museum there are some very small scales like our modern assay-balances.

Steel-yard, *statura* (Naples Museum)

The weights in use were made of black stone, bronze, lead, or terra-cotta. The weights made of black stone are marked with one X or two X's, or a V, and weigh from $9\frac{1}{5}$ to $2\frac{3}{5}$ lbs. Some of the bronze weights are round, shaped like a mortar or a kernel, and many of them have silver figures let in: X · V · III · II · I · S · . : . · . : : (S stands for *semix*, or half, the dots stand for

* See the reproduction, p. 138.

fractions of the pound). Very frequently the weights are made in the shape of objects to be weighed, and represent a fish or a goat, and so on. They have the following figures marked on them: P · I, P · II, P · III, P · V, P · X ·, and one of the weights is inscribed: *Stalli felic.*



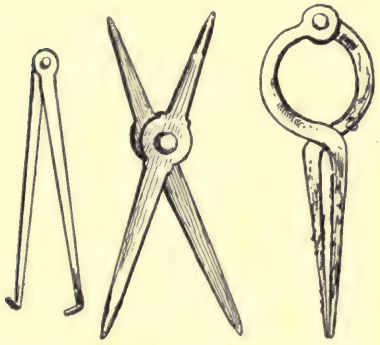
Bronze Weights (Naples Museum)

Other weights are made in the shape of cheeses and knuckle-bones; a pig bears the initials P.C (*centum ponderis*); and a lead weight has the device: EME · HABEBIS: "Buy and you will have." The terra-cotta weights are generally in the form of a truncated pyramid, and have seals stamped on them.

# X

## TOOLS AND SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS

IN the Naples Museum the commonest articles used in everyday life—hooks, an anchor, shuttles, and sailmakers' needles, the same in shape as those used at the present day—attract the attention of visitors. Compasses of various makes, and the weights of plumb-lines, all prove that nearly everything we own was bequeathed to us by the ancients. The glass cases of the museums are full of tools discovered at Pompei—hammers, mattocks, spades with handles like those still used round Naples, rakes, forks, trowels, anvils, soldering-irons, planes, saws, bill-hooks, &c.—in fact, all the tools of modern industry. There was also a special apparatus for setting up brick columns; and to cut the hoof of a horse a special tool was used, the handle of which was decorated with a representation of a horse being shod.



Compasses (Naples Museum)

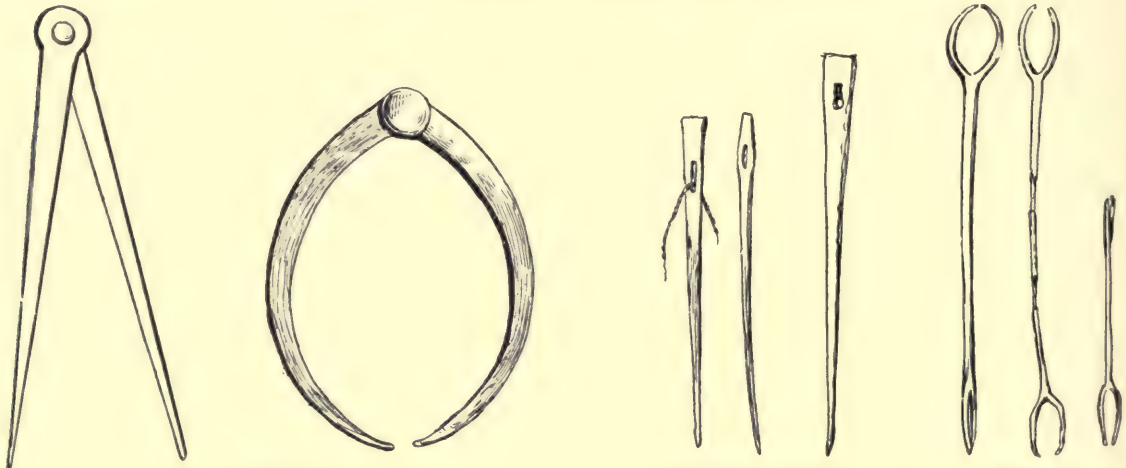
As means of transport and locomotion the two-wheeled chariot, the two- or four-wheeled cart, and the litter (*lectica*) were used at Pompei. Mules and horses were, however, often used alone, as we see in several *genre* pictures and landscapes. In the harbour there were boats, galleys, triremes, and sailing vessels.*

The most curious and interesting of all these relics, however, are the instruments used by the surgeons and physicians. Until the excavation of

* See pp. 78–79.

Various Iron Implements—Plane, Saw, Fork, Bills, &c. (Naples Museum)

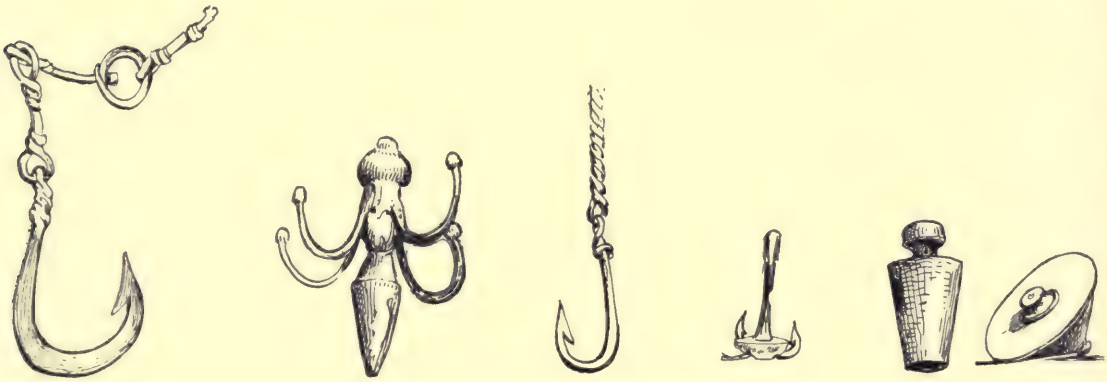
Pompei, our knowledge of ancient surgery was far from exact; conse-



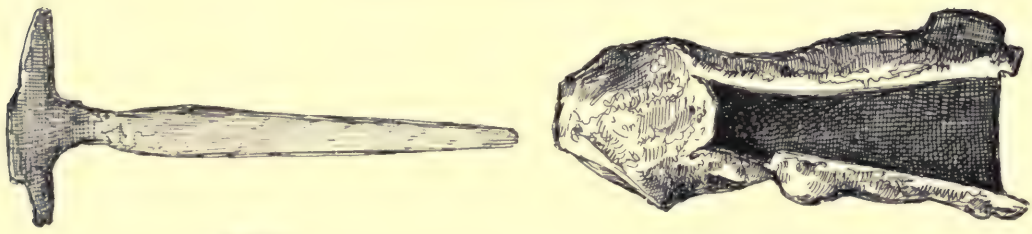
Compasses Sailmakers' Needles Shuttles

(Articles in the Naples Museum)

quently the discovery in 1771 of various instruments in the *House of the Surgeon* made a great sensation.



Fish-hooks and Weights of Plumb-lines



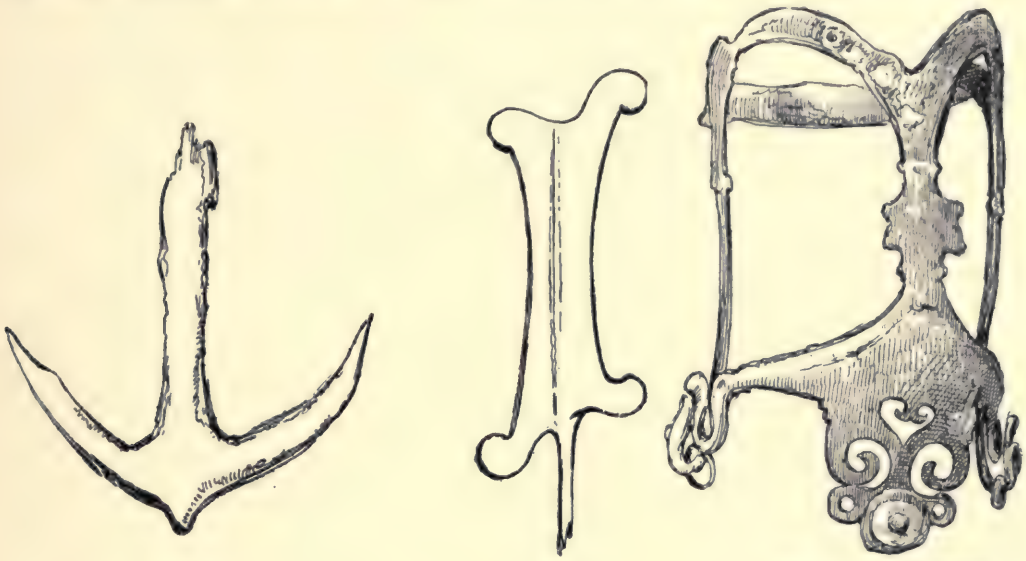
Hammer Iron Ploughshare

(Articles in the Naples Museum)

Forty instruments used in medicine were found there, many of which are described by Celsius.

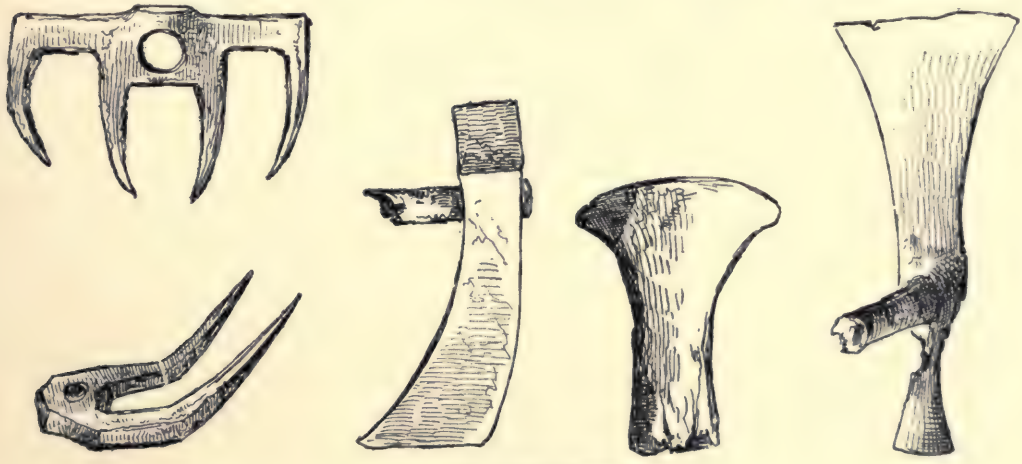
Among this collection of instruments there are a cupping-glass, a vesical

probe (which Dr. J. L. Le Petit re-invented without having seen the antique original), lancets, forceps or sharp tweezers for extracting splinters, an



Anchor Oar Piece of Bronze Harness
(Naples Museum)

injection-probe, cauteries, an auricular clyster, scalpels, and finally uterine specula, with two, three, and four valves—a proof that the Roman physicians

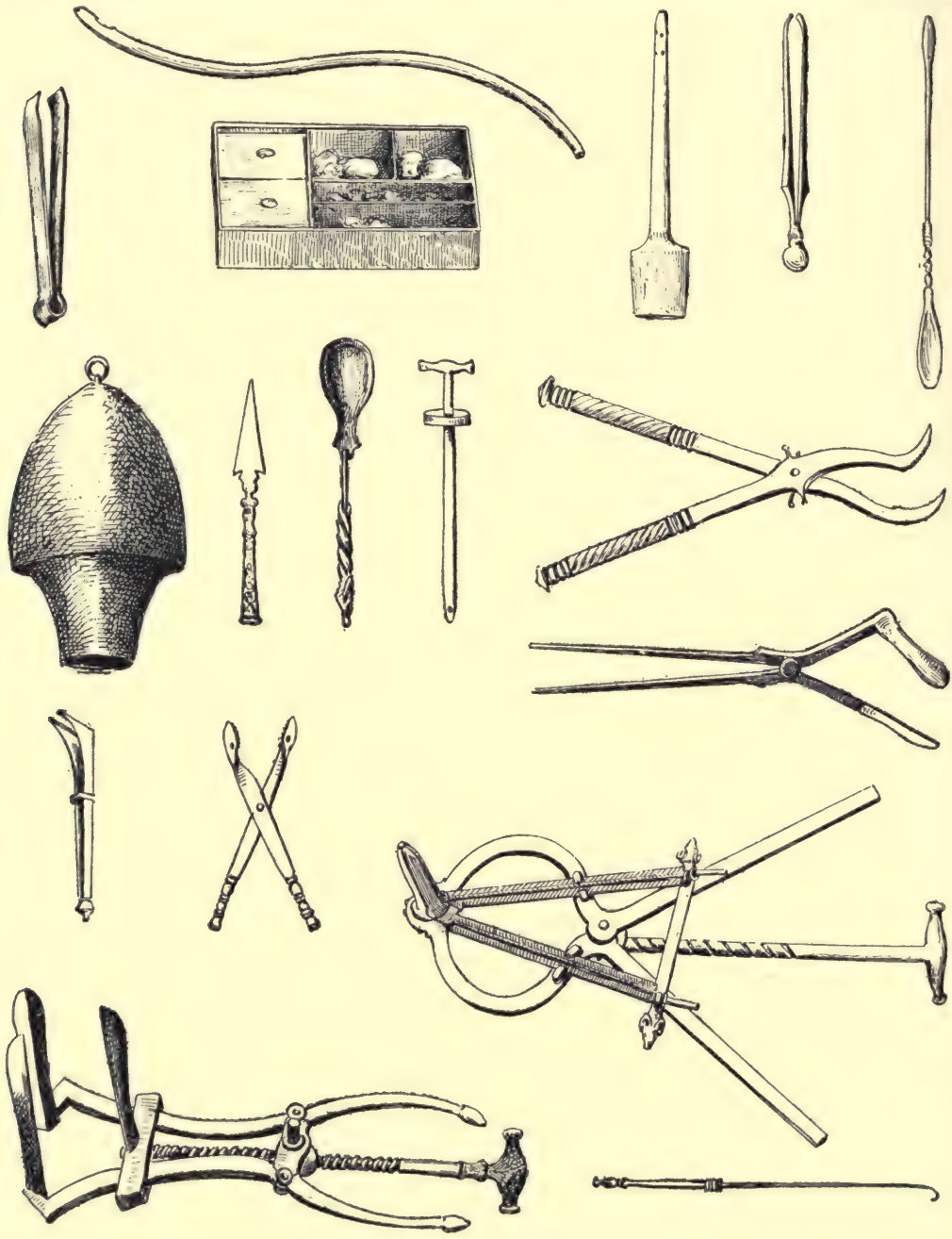


Iron Tools (Naples Museum)

studied the diseases of women and probably knew how to treat them. There were also found some pills in a box with partitions and drawers, which held various pharmaceutical powders.

Physicians were divided into two classes—those who were consulted

in their laboratories, the *sellularii;* and those who visited their patients,



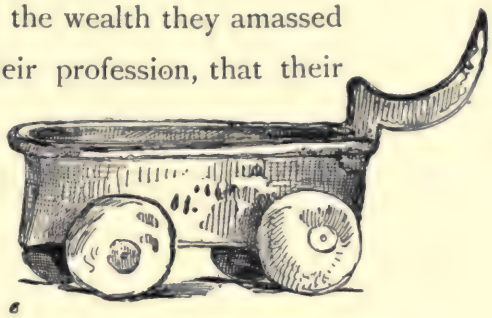
Surgical Instruments (Naples Museum)

1. Pincers. 2. Vesical Probe. 3. Box of Pills. 4. Injection Probe. 5. Pincers. 6. Cautery. 7. Cupping Apparatus. 8. Cautery. 9. Cautery. 10. Clyster, and Clyster-pipe with a Tap. 11. Forceps. 12. Bivalvular Speculum. 13. Pincers for Splinters. 14. Perforated Pincers 15. Quadrivalvular Speculum. 16. Trivalvular Speculum. 17. Cautery.

*periodentes.* Every physician was bound to speak Greek, even at the risk of not being generally understood, for a doctor without Greek was but looked

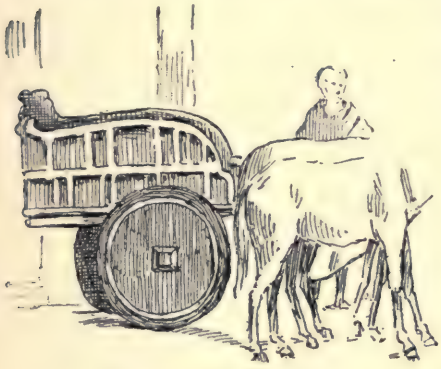
down upon. The physicians who practised under the early Emperors were not highly esteemed, and Pliny has little good to say of them. There was such a large number of physicians, and the wealth they amassed was such a proof of the profits of their profession, that their science was suspected, and their atten-

Bronze Toy, Common Car (Naples Museum)

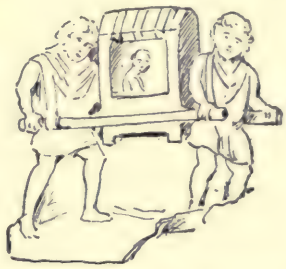


Bronze Toy, Cart (Naples Museum)

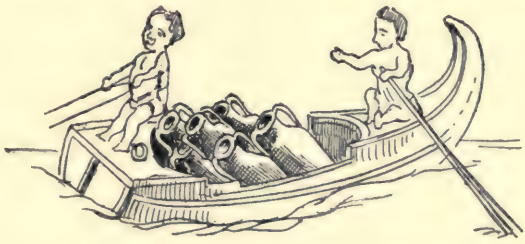
tions to their patients appeared hardly disinterested. Pliny even considered that Cato was justified in his distrust of the science of medicine, and his warning against the excesses he foresaw would arise from it, for the doctors (he continues) aided and abetted debauchery, and all sorts of devices for sensual gratification may be traced to them. In a civilisation, however,



Cart, sarracum (Painting)



Litter, lectica (Terra-cotta in the Naples Museum)



A Boat (Painting in the Naples Museum)

where the pursuit of pleasure was the "chief good," it was natural that physicians should have had a large measure of popularity and success; they relieved pain and lengthened life,

# XI

## THE BAKEHOUSE, THE MILLS, THE OVENS AND LOAVES—SLAVES—FULLERS, AND VARIOUS INDUSTRIES

WE may pass from the house of the physician to that of a neighbour, the "happy baker," whose shop front is decorated with a phallic emblem,* and the device: HIC HABITAT FELICITAS. His bread must have sold well in the city, for his business was prosperous. The entrance lies through the *pistrinum*, where the mills and trough still stand; the oven is at the back of the shop, and is fitted with a stone pipe to make a draught.

The mills all stand in a row in the *pistrinum*. They consist of a circular ashlar block, on which is a fixed conical mill-stone of tufa, capped by the movable mill-stone; the trumpet-shaped mouth of this received the grain, which fell down in flour on the round base. To work the mill a bar of wood was placed in the square holes made in the narrow neck of the mill, and men, women, and sometimes asses were harnessed to the bar, and turned the upper stone by walking round and round the flagged top of the base. The women engaged in this hard labour kept company with the slaves who worked for their master. Their life was a hard one—"to work like a beast of burden, and get nothing but blows in return," as Trimalchio says. Flight was of little avail, for they wore bronze rings on their arms,†

* We should also see in this sign an allusion to the athlete's loaves mentioned by Martial, the shape of which is still usual in a town of North Italy.

† All slaves, according to Apuleius (*Metam.* Book I.), were branded with a letter on the forehead, had their hair shaven on one side, and wore a ring on the foot.

like the one found in Pompei, with the words *Servus sum tene quia fugio* cut on it. Death alone set them free. Perhaps there is an allusion to the fate of one of them in the following *graffito:*

*Pyrrhus C. Heio conlegæ salutem. Moleste fero quod audivi te mortuum. Itaque vale.*

"Pyrrhus to his fellow C. Heius, greeting. I was grieved to hear that you were dead. *Now* may it be well with you!"

Bakehouse

Plautus and Terence, it will be remembered, turned the mill, as captives, and it was the usual punishment inflicted on slaves, as is shown by lines in the *Pseudolus:*

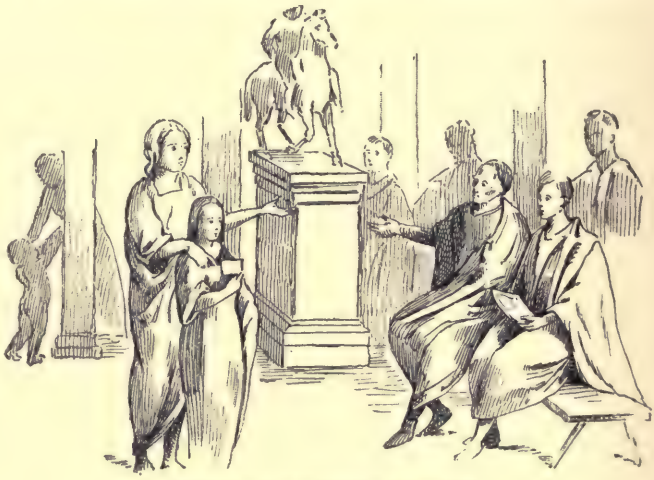
*Sed si non faxis, numiquid causa est, inlico quin te in pistrinum condam?*

"But if you fail, shall I not be justified in shutting you up in the *pistrinum?*

In the ovens of the bakehouse whole loaves were found carbonised. Several of them have the name of the baker marked on them, and are made of finer dough than the rest. They are probably the *suiginei,* so called

Oven of a Bakehouse

from the wheat (*siligo*) of which they were made, while ordinary bread was *colyris*. Fancy bread was made at Pompei, as is proved by the electioneering notice posted up by the *clibanarii* and *libarii*, who at certain times distributed bread gratis, as Julius Polybius promised. As to Paquius Proculus (whose portrait is given in Part VI.), who was both ædile and baker, on the day of his election his ovens could not have been large enough to thank his electors. This form of largesse is illustrated by a picture representing a baker dressed in white, sitting at his wooden counter and offering loaves to his fellow-citizens. The bakers in Pompei must have



Sale of a Slave (Naples Museum)*

Loaves (Naples Museum)

* The sale of a slave is represented in a painting in the Naples Museum. In it a girl is offered for sale to two men who are seated in the Forum. The girl carries in her hand a card on which her name, age, and price are probably written.

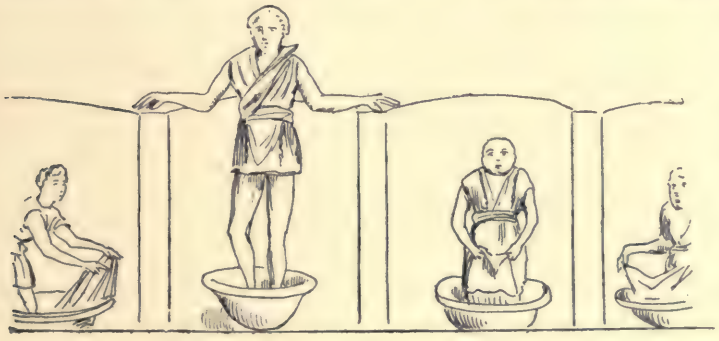
grown rich, for very few private houses had a *pistrinum*, and bread, then as now, was the staple food of all classes. Each person brought his own

Pastry (Naples Museum)

grain to the bakehouse, as the gleaners do in France, and it was kept in amphoræ, many of which were full of flour and corn when they were found. The words *siligo granii* (wheat-flour) and *e cicera* (pea-flour) are written on them.

Baker distributing Bread (Painting in the Naples Museum)

Next to the bakers, the fullers seem to have been the most numerous class in Pompei. We can follow the various scenes in the fullers' workshops from paintings reproduced here. The stuffs to be cleansed were first soaked in vats (*cortinæ*) full of water mixed with alkaline substances, and then trodden and stamped upon. Children were employed in this part of the work, and danced the "Fullers' Dance" (*tripudium*), a dance in triple time. In the *House of the Vettii* there

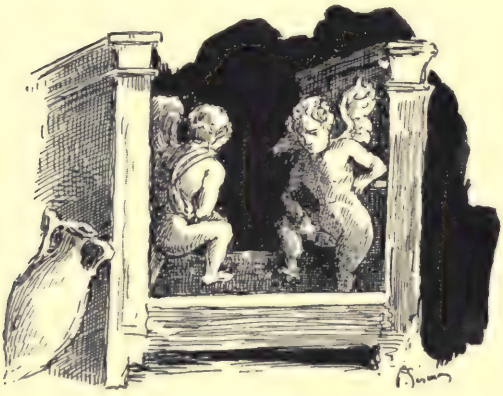


Fullers (Painting in the Naples Museum)

are paintings which represent genii at work treading cloth and afterwards stretching and combing it. A youth is also represented combing cloth in another picture; and behind him is a man carrying a cage of wickerwork, surmounted by an owl, the bird of Minerva, the patroness of fullers. This cage was used to stretch the woollen togas upon to dry them. Sulphur* was burnt under the frame, the fumes serving to bleach the cloth.

Scene in a Fullonica (Painting in the Naples Museum)

A *fullonica* usually consists of a row of large vats lined with cement, placed side by side at different levels. Bronze taps supplied the vats with water, which ran from one to another through an opening in the lower part



Genii fulling

Genii combing Cloth

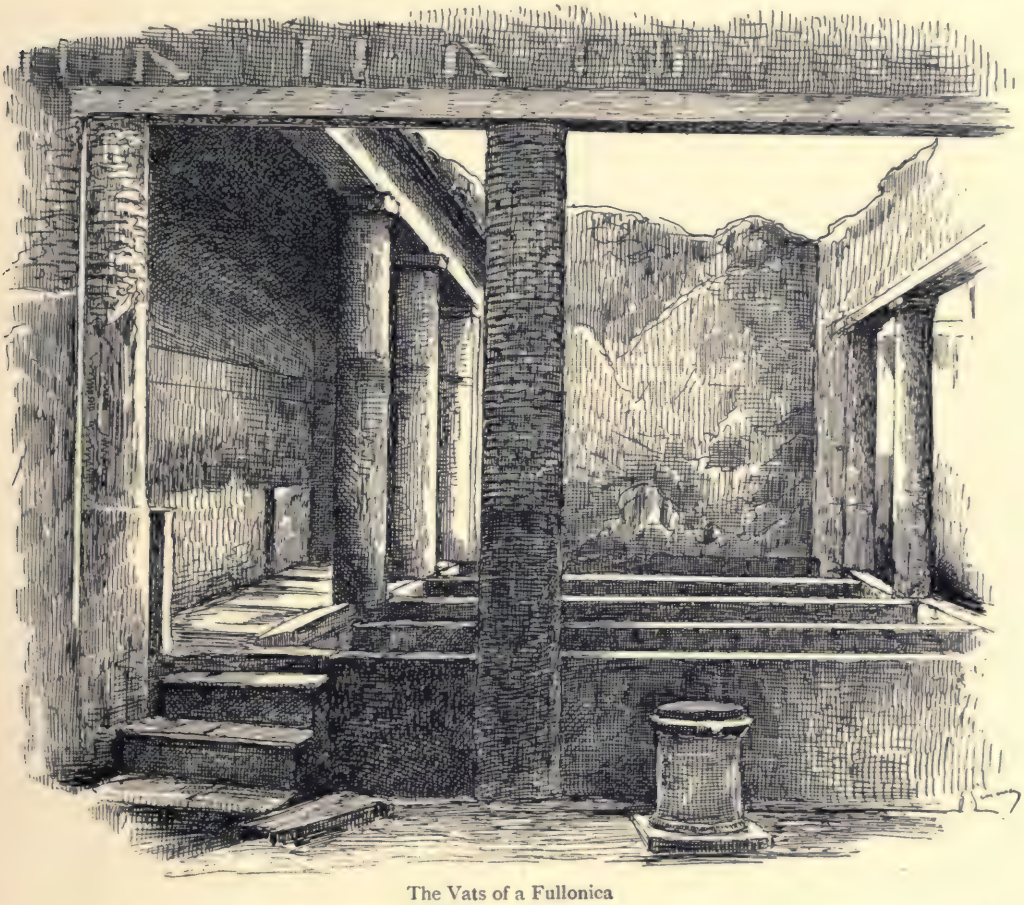
(Paintings in the House of the Vettii)

of their sides. These great vats were used to rinse the wool, while the circular basins of tufa that are found separately must have been used to remove the dirt from woven fabrics.

* Pliny tells us (XXXV. 57) that the stuffs were first washed with Sardinian earth and then fumigated with sulphur. Lastly, they were cleaned with Cimolian earth (chalk from Cimola, one of the Cyclades). It is probably this chalk that we find in the *dolia* of the *fullonicæ*.

A large space was reserved as a drying-ground for the stuffs, which were combed and afterwards stretched in the sun. Near the *fullonica* were shops containing presses and shelves, on which the goods were laid to await the purchaser.

Some of these *fullonicæ* were important places. Statuettes were found

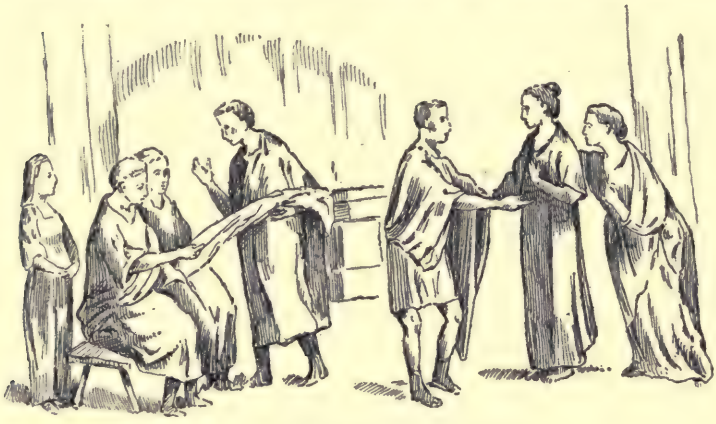


The Vats of a Fullonica

in certain of them : a Venus with a necklace, and a silver Harpocrates. On the walls there were paintings of Venus fishing with a rod and line, and Polyphemus, to whom a Cupid is bringing a letter from Galatea.

Not very long ago there was a curious series of sketches still to be seen under the portico of the *fullonica* reproduced above, but the drawings, which were somewhat obscene, are now obliterated. They represented dances and banquets, probably those of the Feast of Minerva (*quinquatrus*), which was celebrated on March 19.

Scenes from the various trades and professions are represented in a rude set of ancient sketches reproduced below. One of these paintings represents a clothier praising his wares to his customers and pointing out the delicacy of the fabrics; two women entering the shop ask for a robe like those they are wearing. They are received by a young man, who hastens to serve them.



A Clothier (Naples Museum)

Next, a shoemaker takes the measure of a shoe with a special instrument; his customers sit and wait. The wall at the back of the shop is hung with lasts.

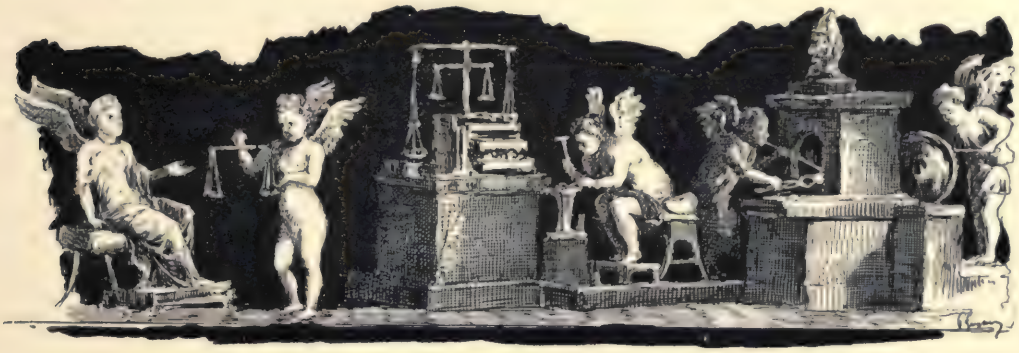
Another picture represents genii at work at a forge. One of them is making a bronze pot; another blows the furnace-fire with a pipe, and holds a piece of metal in the flame with a pair of pincers; a third genius is seated, carefully hammering some small object on an anvil. In front of him is a chest with drawers, above which hangs a pair of scales, while a robed genius, representing Authority, presides over the stamping of objects weighed in the scales. Genii are represented forging in another painting, and two are shown at work at the oil-press, hammering in wedges to crush the olives and extract the oil, which drips into a basin.

A Shoemaker (Painting in the Naples Museum)

Passing through the streets, we come to a butcher's stall, with its marble counter, on which the meat was cut up. Next comes a wash-house

(near the lupanar). Some writers suppose this to have been a soap factory. It was here that the famous Bacchus of the Naples Museum (known as the Narcissus) was found.*

Large leaden capsules rather more than a yard in diameter are placed



Genii coining and forging (Painting in the House of the Vettii)

above the furnaces, and large stone basins with leaden pipes are ranged along the wall. Under the staircase leading to the upper storey were found washing-bills written with a style, which were deciphered by Fiorelli. The dirty water from the wash-house fell into the street through a wide

The Oil-press

The Forge

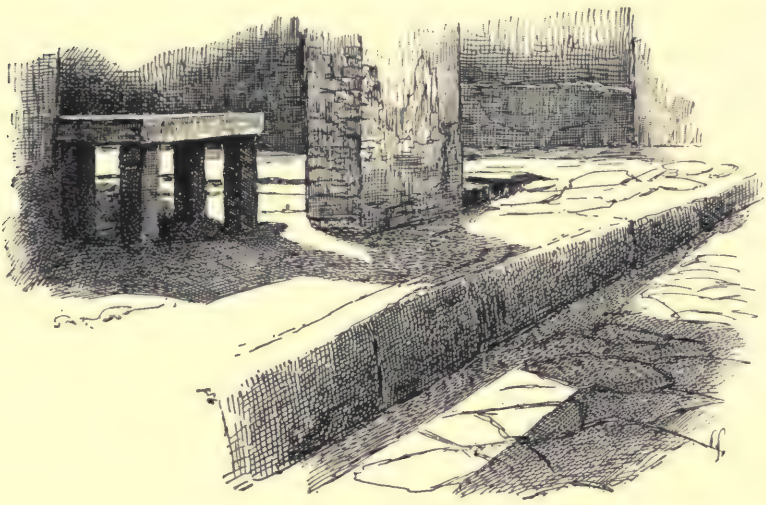
(Paintings in the House of the Vettii)

gargoyle. Weights, lamps, candelabra, and a pair of scales were found in the place, and lanterns were also discovered close by. The Pompeian lanterns were surrounded with sheets of talc.

Another shop with large basins is the skinner's shop in the Street of the Diadumeni, where the bench of travertine, on which the skins were treated, is still in excellent preservation. Various tools used by tanners

* See Part VI.

(*corriarii*) were found here, and the plate of a press. On the wall is written the name of the owner of the shop, M. Nonius Campanus, an old soldier. Above this inscription is the following *graffito:* "Scaura the Egyptian has sewed the hides of oxen here."



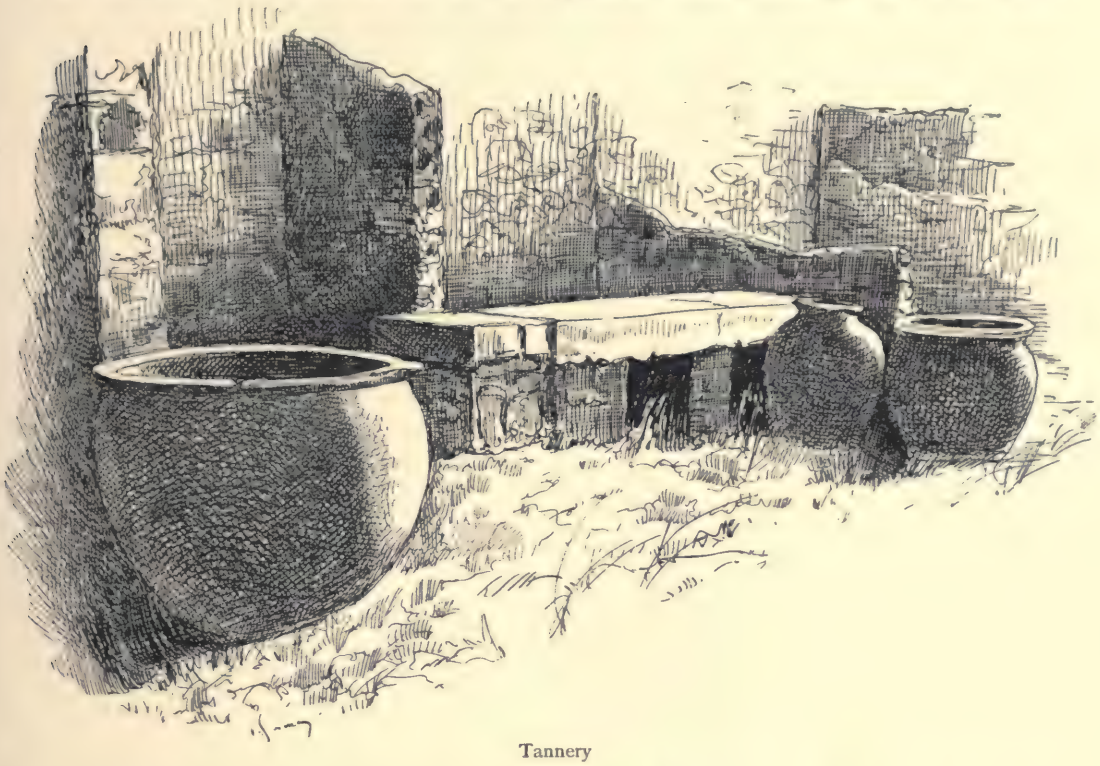
A Butcher's Stall

In addition to these established manufacturers and dealers, there were, as in Naples to-day, crowds of itinerant vendors, who appeared on market-days. Here we see a passer-by bargaining with a coppersmith, who strikes the metal of a copper pot with a stick to prove its quality. In the background a carpenter is carving a piece of wood with a chisel. This painting is a good illustration of differences in costume. The purchaser wears the *himation,* which falls in graceful folds about him; his gestures are free and dignified; he will not even touch the articles for which he is negotiating, so is followed by a young slave with a basket.

Soap Factory or Wash-house

The seller of *bric-à-brac,* sitting before his little stall of ironware, has a resigned and weary look. His downcast air seems to say that trade is

bad, and he pays no heed to a man who is shaking his fist at him. The basket on the arm of one of the figures in the painting is of the same

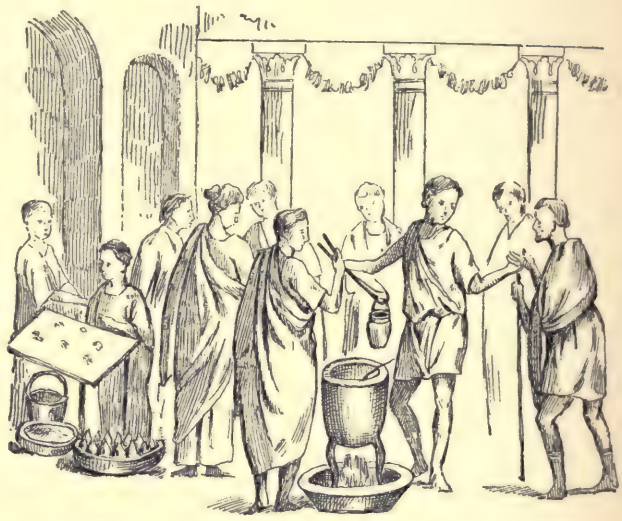


Tannery

shape as those still used in the country round Pompei. In the background the *forenses* are strolling to and fro under the porticoes of the Forum. Another picture of the Forum represents a strolling vendor of hot drinks, who hands a measure of the boiling liquid, with a long pair of pincers, to a traveller leaning on a stick. The costume of the latter is curious. For a long journey on foot it was probably the custom to raise the cloak above the hips and wrap it round the arm; this freed the limbs and preserved the cloak from dust and wet.

Coppersmith

Seller of Ironware (Painting in the Naples Museum)



Sellers of Hot Drinks and Fruits (Painting in the Naples Museum)

In the middle-distance of the same picture there is a woman selling fruit and vegetables. Among her stock are figs, and flowers stuck in a board, as vendors in Naples still arrange orange-flowers.

Our last painting shows a child training a monkey. Under the porticoes on market-days the people of Pompei were amused by all the comic extibitions of modern times, and the dressed-up monkey is certainly one of the most ancient of popular diversions. These memorials are of great interest to us, as pictures of the life of the ancients, practical and conservative folks. There is a gentle irony in the constant reflection that all our customs are but survivals from the older civilisations more or less denaturalised. But what more inevitable than that man in all ages should sometimes solve the same problem by the same means?

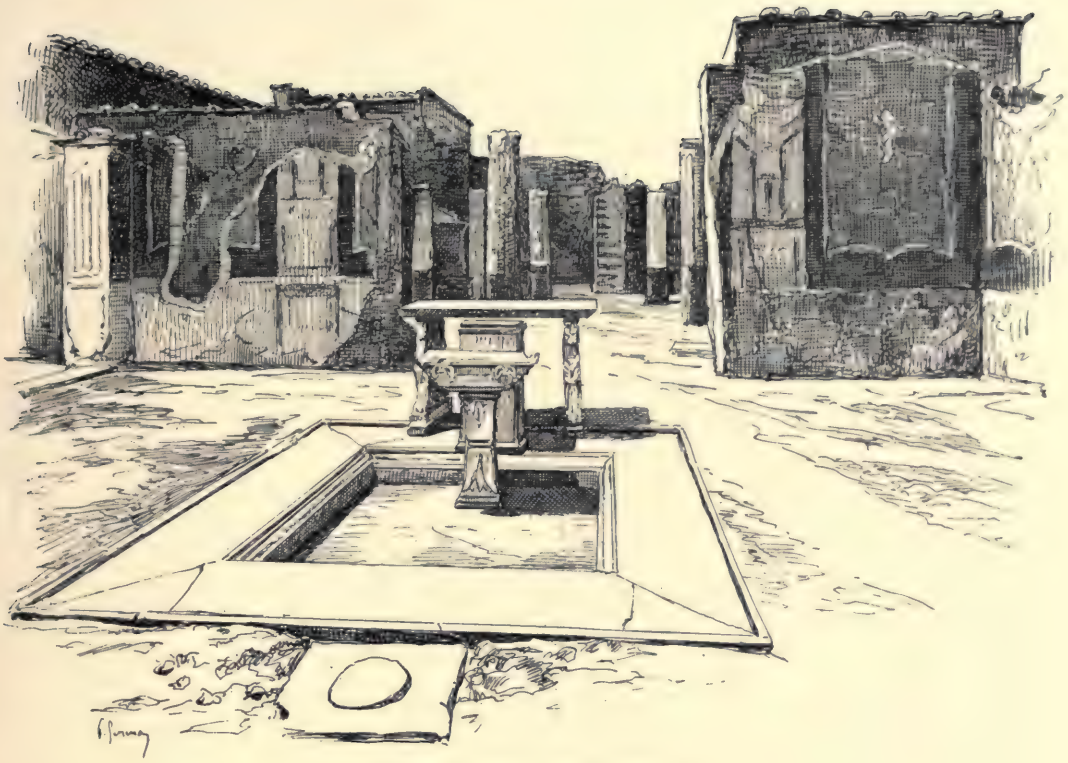
Trained Monkey (Painting in the Naples Museum)

Archaic Coins of Naples
(Collection of Coins in Paris)

Coins of Naples
(Collection of Coins in Paris)

# PART V

## THE GRÆCO-ROMAN HOUSE

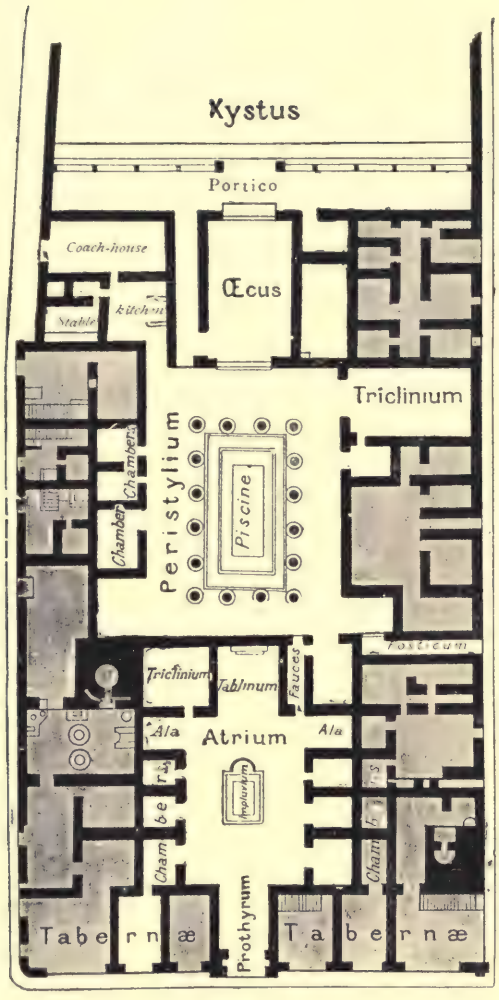


Tuscan Atrium (House of Siricus)

# I

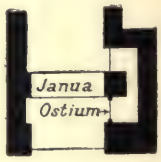
## THE OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSES—THE OSTIUM—THE DOORS—THE PROTHYRUM

THE interior of the Græco-Roman house still remains to be examined. We have crossed the thresholds of a few houses to see the Shrines of the Lares, and from the street we have caught glimpses through doorways of a few red-based columns, but the high, grated windows keep their secret well. The few windows opening on the street only serve to let in a little light and air, and are set high in the wall for security from thieves. On the ground-floor they are rarely found, except in kitchens and a few bedrooms. The windows in the upper storeys were larger, and it was possible to lean out of them, to judge by the *mæniana* or balconies overhanging the street. But by the general arrangement of their houses the Pompeians were cut off from the outside world, and their life was passed in privacy, undisturbed by the curiosity of their neighbours.



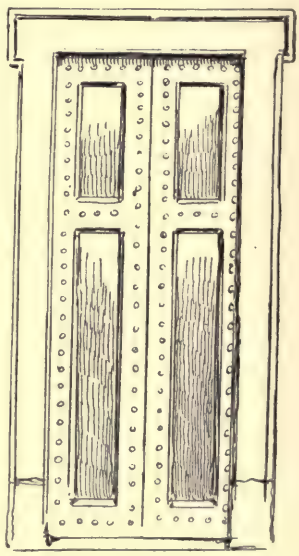

The House of Pansa

Before entering the various houses, let us briefly examine the general arrangement of the principal parts of a house, as exemplified in the plan of the House of Pansa, the most perfect example of a wealthy Græco-Roman house. The shaded portions of the plan do not communicate with the house itself, and were probably let to small tradesmen.




Entrance of the Casa del Torello

At the entrance to the house there is always a step before the double doors (*janua*), near which a laurel-branch and a lamp were usually placed, in honour of the *dii custodes*. Unlike Greek doors (which opened outwardly, a custom that was made a pretext for taxation), the Roman doors generally opened inwards, and fell back against the walls of the *prothyrum*. In some special cases only they opened outwards; this was a mark of distinction, an honour reserved for victorious generals to whom a site for their houses had been granted by decree.*

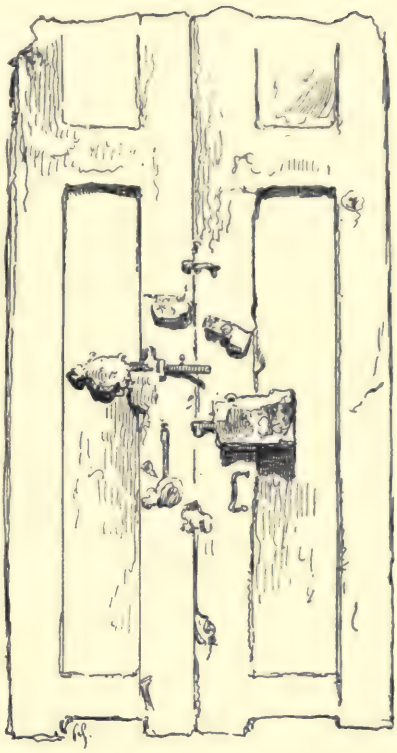


Reconstructed Door, Janua (Museum of Pompei)

Sometimes there were two doors at the entrance, one massive, the second lighter, at a distance of

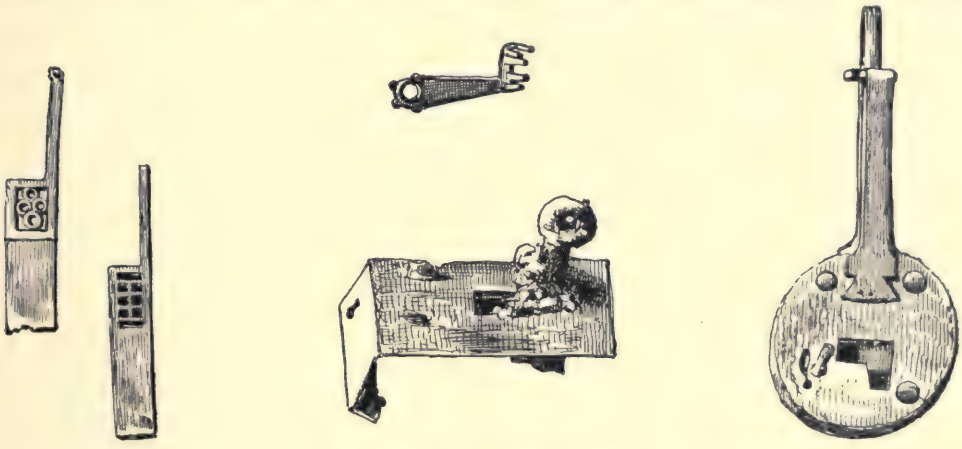
* The threshold of a house was called the *limen*; the door-posts the *antæ* and *pedes*; the lintel *jugumentum* and *supercilium*; the cornice the *corona*; the folding-doors *fores*, *janua*; the whole was called the *ostium* (*i.e.* opening).—Saglio, Dict. *Janua*.

about a yard from one another. In some cases, as in the House of Popidius Priscus, the second door was of open ironwork. One house, the *Casa del Torello*, has some peculiar features which are illustrated on the plan. Besides the principal door, there was a side entrance on one side of the *prothyrum*, where the *ostiarius* or *janitor*—the door-keeper—sat.*



Cast of an ancient Door (Museum of Pompei)

In addition to the entrance-door or *janua* there was another door, sometimes also called the *ostium*, at the end of the *prothyrum*, which was the vestibule leading into the *atrium*. The *janua* were occasionally of bronze, but as a rule they were of solid wood studded with large-headed nails, or divided into panels with mouldings.

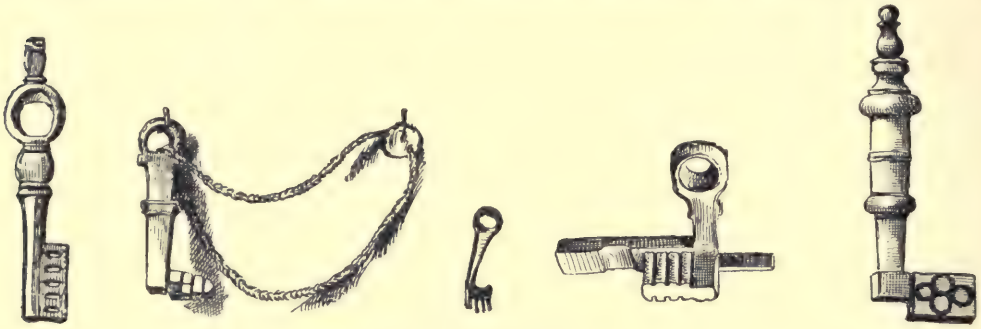


Locks and Keys (Naples Museum)

There was frequently an impost over the door or a grating in the upper part of it.

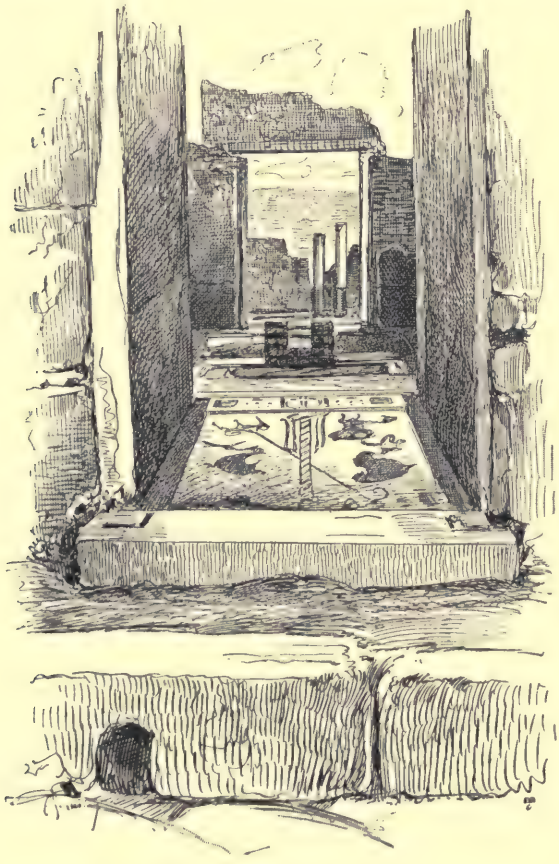
* Petronius writes of an *ostiarius*, dressed in green with a cherry-coloured belt, shelling peas in a silver basin. Over the threshold of the door was hung a gold cage containing a magpie with variegated plumage, which called to those who entered the house. Near the doorkeeper there was painted, on the wall, a large dog chained up, and beneath it were written the words: *Cave, Cave Canem!*

The methods of fastening seem to have been very complete. The locks exhibited in the Museum are most ingenious in construction; the



Keys (Naples Museum)

cast of an ancient door with its hooks, its latch, and the large lock, which had given way under the weight of the fallen rubbish, is also shown.



Prothyrum of the House of Blandus

The *prothyrum* was almost always paved with mosaics in black, white, and brown, and was the outward and visible sign of the wealth of the master of the house. In one house (*Casa dell' Ancora*) the mosaic represents an anchor; in the *Casa dell' Orso*, a wounded bear with the inscription HAVE (hail!); and in the *Casa del Poeta tragico*, a dog with the device, CAVE CANEM. In the House of Siricus, the words SALVE LVCRV(M) (hail to gain!) are inscribed on the floor in small white cubes.

A house in the Street of Stabiæ, opposite that of the banker Jucundus, has a mosaic at the entrance

representing several *phalli* combined, together with the word SALVE. On the pavements of other houses a wolf and a wild boar are repre-

Mosaic in the Prothyrum of the Casa dell' Orso

sented, and the attributes of Neptune are seen at the entrance of the *prothyrum* of the House of Blandus, in which some fine mosaics were discovered.

# II

THE ATRIUM—THE COMPLUVIUM—THE IMPLUVIUM—THE CARTIBULUM—THE HEARTH—THE ATRIUM TESTUDINATUM—THE TUSCAN ATRIUM—THE TETRASTYLE ATRIUM—THE CORINTHIAN ATRIUM—THE CAVÆDIUM—THE LARARIUM

THROUGH the *prothyrum*, which was nearly always decorated with paintings or striated stucco-work, we pass to the *atrium* or first court, in which lies the rectangular basin of the *impluvium*. The water from the roof fell through the mouths of the terra-cotta gargoyles round the *compluvium* into the *impluvium*, and thence drained away into cisterns under the pavement of the *atrium*. A *puteal* of marble or earthenware decorated the opening of these cisterns, and in some cases the edge has been worn away by the cord or chain to which the vessel for drawing water was attached. There are also some very ancient wells at Pompei, sunk to a depth of thirty-three yards, which still supply water.*

In many houses the *atrium* is picturesque even now, with its marble basins and its tables on the edge of the *impluvium*. Statuettes which served as fountains stand on pedestals which were originally the "hearths" or altars where sacrifices were offered to the *Lares domestici*. In front of these statuettes, which are often Cupids, a light and graceful basin of pure marble received the jet of water, which filled the basin to overflowing and fell with a musical tinkle into the *impluvium*. The marble table, or

* The list of the wells and their depths are to be found in *Facts about Pompei*, by Fitzgerald Marriott.

POMPEIAN PORTRAITS

REGION VI — INSULA VII — No 23 (*Casa di Apollo*)

REGION I — INSULA III — No 30

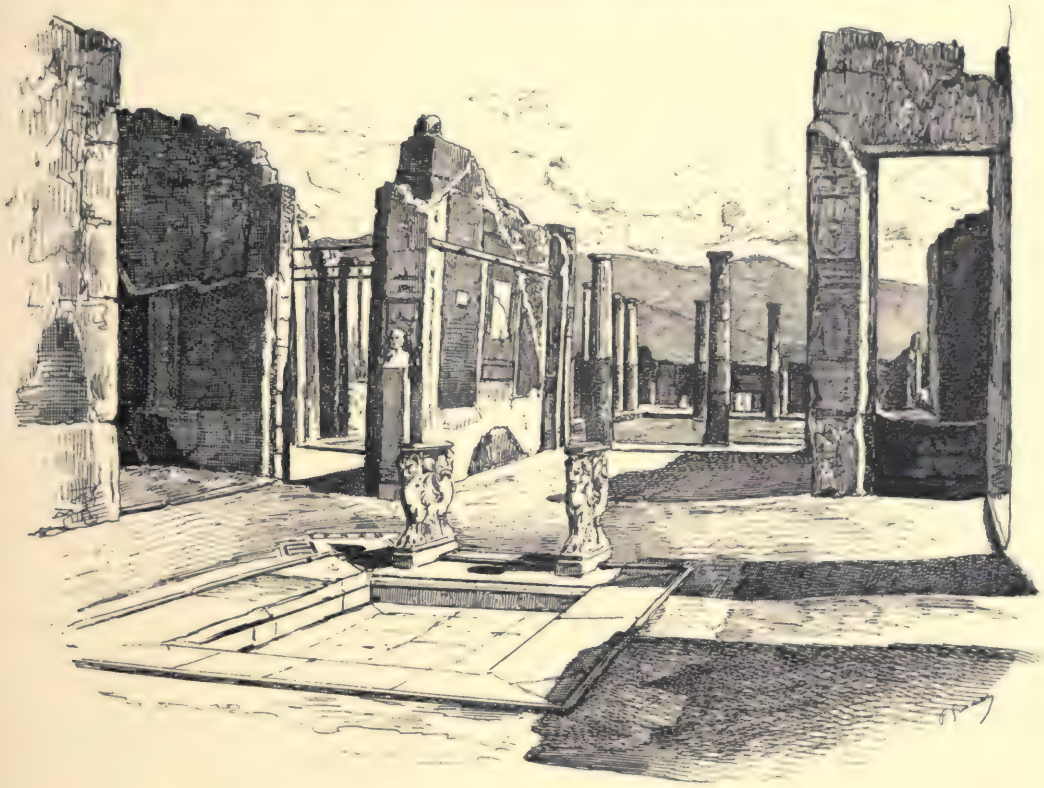
REGION I — INSULA II — No 6

THE DEATH OF DIRCE

(PAINTING IN THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII)

*cartibulum*, where in ancient times the food was placed, when meals were taken in the *atrium* and the *altar* was the hearth where the food was cooked, became in later times a decorative feature, a stand for works of art, or a table at which women made their toilette.

Four varieties of *atria* are found in Pompei: the *atrium testudinatum*, the *Tuscan atrium*, the *tetrastyle atrium*, and the *Corinthian atrium*.

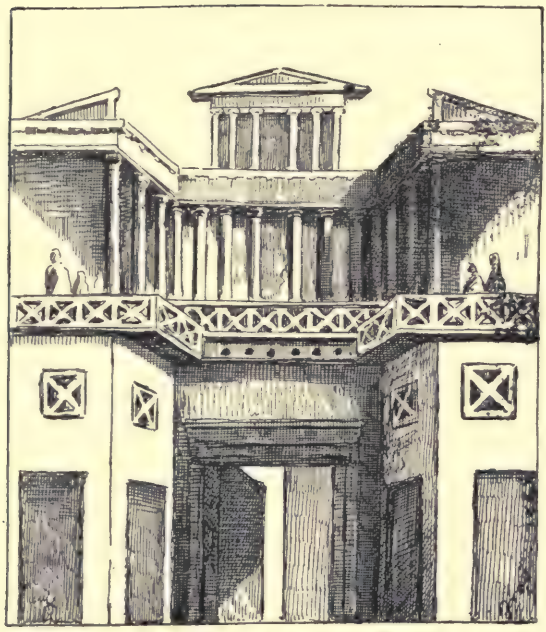


Tuscan Atrium and Impluvium (House of Cornelius Rufus)

The first type is completely roofed in, and of course has no *impluvium*. According to Fiorelli,* the oldest houses in Pompei had these *atria* before the earthquake of the year 63 (there was one in the *Casa del Centenario*), and their sloping roofs were four-sided, like those of modern houses. In simpler and more primitive times the *atrium* was the whole dwelling. The inhabitants ate and slept there, and the marriage-bed stood in the place of the *tablinum*.† Hence, it has been conjectured that the original type of *atrium*

* *Gli Scavi di Pompei dal* 1861-72.

† Monceaux (Saglio's Dict. *Domus*).



Inner projecting Galleries or Corbels (Painting in an Œcus, Region IX., Insula VII.)

was completely roofed in (*cavum ædium testudinatum*), *i.e.* with a roof shaped like a tortoise-shell, and had no *impluvium*.

In later times the *atrium* was uncovered, and light was let in; the *triclinium* took the place of the marriage-bed. This change was effected by placing a table near the couch, and the custom of eating meals reclining is a survival of this arrangement.

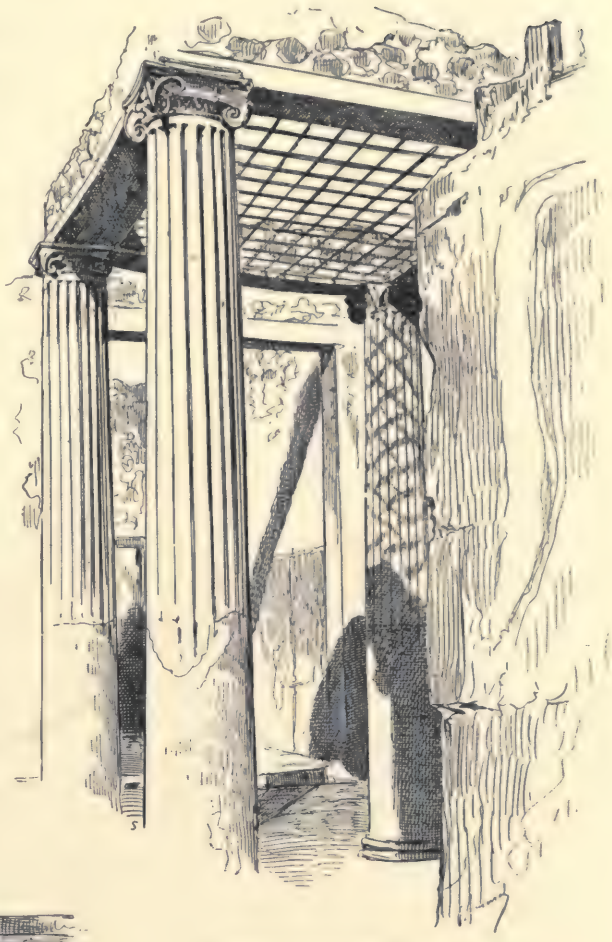
The chief rooms of the house were now grouped round the *atrium*, which had become the inner court; but with the increase of luxury, due to the advent of the Greek colonists, the *atrium* in its later form no longer satisfied the needs of the new civilisation. It was retained, but it was no longer the private room; it was merely the antechamber to the house itself. Its place was taken by the Greek *peristylium*, which had all the advantages of the *atrium* without its inconveniences.

Tetrastyle Atrium (Casa delle Nozze d'Argento)

The most common type of *atrium* at Pompei is the *Tuscan atrium*. It has no columns, and the roof which sheltered

it from sun and rain was supported by four beams crossing each other at right angles, with their ends fixed in the walls. This is probably the *atrium* described by Pliny as "built in the ancient style," *ex more veterum.* It is certainly of Etruscan origin, as its name implies, for there must always have been Etruscans in the city; the names *Tuscan* and *Oscan* are synonymous.

Above the Tuscan *atrium*, when the houses had an upper storey, there was a balcony with a balustrade running



Tetrastyle Atrium and Compluvium

Tetrastyle Atrium with the wooden portions reconstructed

round the *compluvium* and projecting over the area of the *atrium.* We know of the existence of these galleries from certain paintings in Pompei. By means of this balcony part of the roof was turned to account, and an external communication was established between the different rooms on the upper storey. In most cases the roof projected a considerable distance, and the open area was reduced to the

size of the *impluvium*. As this roofing had sometimes too great a span, a wooden pillar was placed at each corner of the *impluvium* to support it. Very few traces remain of these wooden supports, for all woodwork has been destroyed either by the disaster or by time. There are, however, examples of the old Tuscan *atria* strengthened in the Greek style by the addition of four columns of brick or tufa. Thus the *tetrastyle atrium* in its primitive form with rustic wooden pillars took the place of the Tuscan *atrium*.

Stove, found in an Atrium, originally from a Caldarium (Naples Museum)

The *tetrastyle atrium* is, nevertheless, somewhat unusual in Pompei, although certain large houses have two *atria*, one of them Tuscan and the other an *atrium* with four columns (*Casa del Fauno*, *del Laberinto* and *del Centenario*).* The *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento*, which is a rich and important house, has a *tetrastyle atrium* with tall columns and capitals of the Corinthian order. In Region I., Insula II., there are also four columns of the same type, with Ionic capitals supporting the restored iron grating of the *compluvium*. A similar *atrium* is found in a small house on the left-hand side of the Street of Mercury. The peculiar feature of this *atrium* is the addition of two columns in front, which formed part of a

* The House of the Vettii has two *atria*, a Tuscan one and a very small *atrium* with its *impluvium* near the wall; and the roof has only three sides.

small portico. There are also several houses which have fine views over the valley of the Sarnus, with similar *atria.*

The *tetrastyle atrium* was also common in small houses, where supports were required for the rooms over the *atrium*, and where the small area of the ground on which the house was built did not allow of any extension. A little house built on this principle was discovered in the excavations of 1898 (Region VI., Insula XV.) and restored. The beams and the joists of

Cavædium of the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati (or the Casa di Arriana)

the first storey have been replaced, and the wooden staircase with its hand-rail and stone base has been reconstructed. The stair leads to the upper storey, but the upper rooms are of no especial interest. They are lighted by a very narrow *compluvium*, which also lights the *atrium* below. This must have been very dark, especially when the rooms on the ground-floor were roofed and surmounted by an upper storey ; but in the heat of summer this twilit space must have been cool and pleasant.

The *atrium* which shows Greek influences most strongly is the Corinthian *atrium*, with numerous columns in imitation of the Greek peristyle. The term

Corinthian does not refer to the architectural order of the columns and capitals, for these may be Tuscan or Ionic; indeed, a Corinthian *atrium* with the so-called Corinthian capitals has not hitherto been discovered in Pompei. This style of *atrium* may give rise to some confusion of classification, and in houses with several *cavædia** one is sometimes in doubt whether a *peristylium* is not a Corinthian *atrium*, as in the case of the *Casa dei Capitelli Colorati.*

The *Casa dei Capitelli Colorati* (*Casa di Arriana*) has three *cavædia*

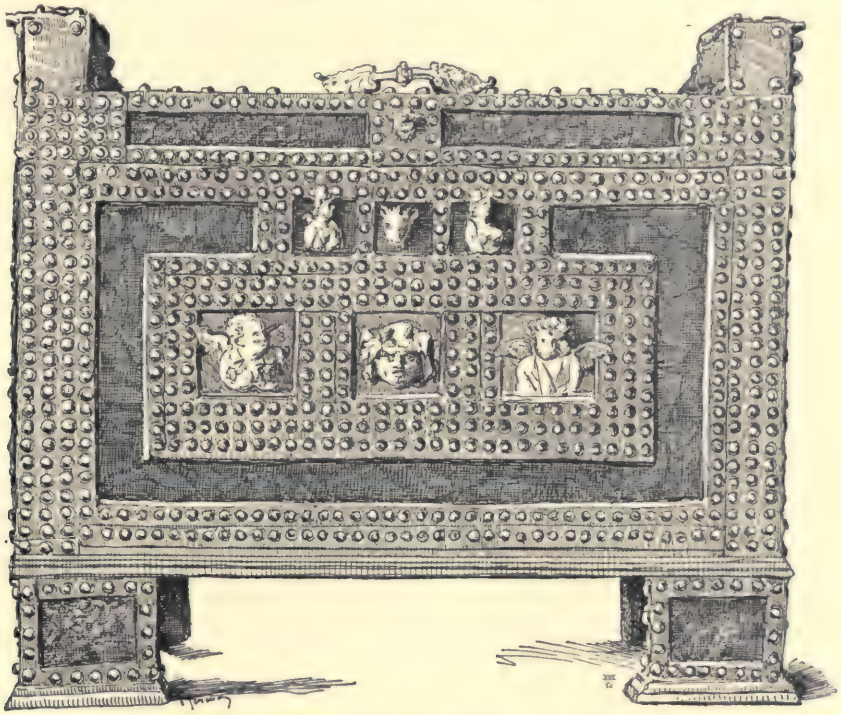
Corinthian Atrium (House of Epidius Rufus)

opening one into another. The house is situated on two streets, but a *posticum*, or private door, opens into a third street. The main entrance lies in the *Strada degli Augustali*, where the *prothyrum* leads into a simple Tuscan *atrium*, which opens into the *tablinum*. Next comes a *cavædium*, bearing a strong resemblance to a Corinthian *atrium* the *impluvium* of which has been transformed into a fountain. It is surrounded by Ionic columns with yellow bases and tufa capitals covered with red and blue

* By *cavædium* is understood any part of the house open to the sky, and thus forming a *cavum ædium* (a hollow in the house), as do the *atrium* and *peristylium*.

stucco. The open area is restricted to the *impluvium*, as in Corinthian *atria*.

Whether this *cavædium* should be called a *peristylium* or not is a moot point. The name was given to it from its position in the house rather than from its general arrangement. The Corinthian *atrium* appears, indeed, to have been but a smaller variety of the Greek *peristylium*, an example of



Strong-Box of Bronze, Iron and Wood (Naples Museum)

which is found in the same house, leading from the *cavædium* and opening by a *pseudothyrum* into the *Strada di Nola*.

Among the other Corinthian *atria* in Pompei we should notice the *atrium* in the House of Epidius Rufus, of the Tuscan order, with baseless fluted columns of tufa. On the right-hand side there is a small *exedra*, with a chapel dedicated to the *Lares* and the genius of the master of the house. The *Casa di Castore e Polluce* and the Villa of Diomedes have also Corinthian *atria*, but only the first courses of the stucco columns with red bases remain.

Roman authors do not make any very absolute distinction in their

writings between the *Corinthian atrium*, the *peristylium*, and the *Tuscan atrium*. To them the *atrium* is a *cavædium*, the centre of a common family life, the place where the archives are kept, where the strong-box stands, and where busts of owners and ancestors are placed on marble terms, as in the houses of Cæcilius Jucundus and Cornelius Rufus. The *Lararium*,* according to ancient authorities, was situated in the *atrium*; at Pompei, however, many of them are found in the *peristylium*,† a proof that at a certain period the *atrium* was abandoned for the *peristylium*, and that their names were interchangeable, as both rooms were used for the same purposes.

Bronze Distaff (Naples Museum)

Ivory Distaff (Naples Museum)

Within the *atrium* the woman was considered the equal of the man, and from the moment when the newly-wedded wife set foot in her husband's *atrium* she shared all his rights. This was expressed in an old formula: when the wife first crossed the threshold of her new home she turned to her husband with the ceremonial words: "*Ubi tu Gaius, ibi ego Gaia*" ("Where you are master, I am mistress").

Thimble (Naples Museum)

* See Part II. x. for the *Lararia*.

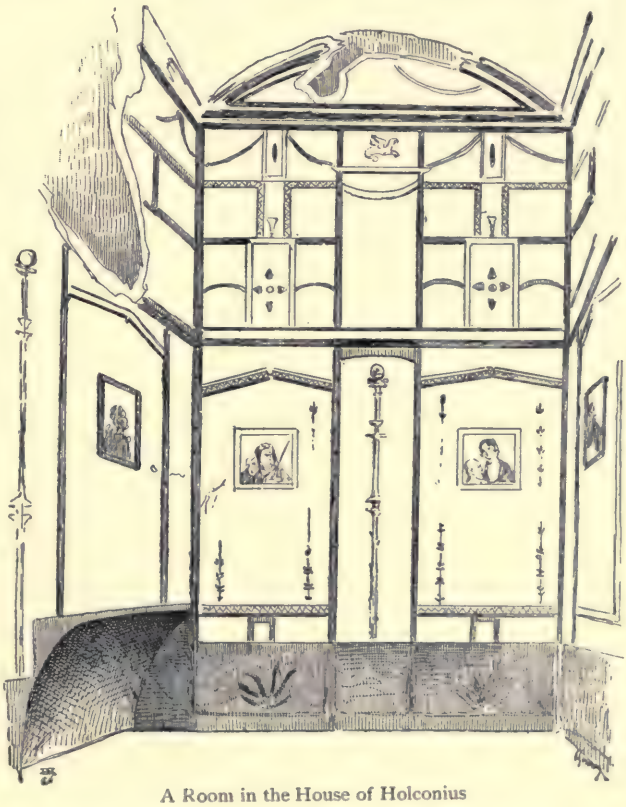
† These small niches to hold statuettes of the gods are to be found in almost every place, from the *prothyrum* to the kitchen.

# III

THE BEDROOMS—THE BEDS—THE ALÆ—THE TABLINUM—THE ANDRON

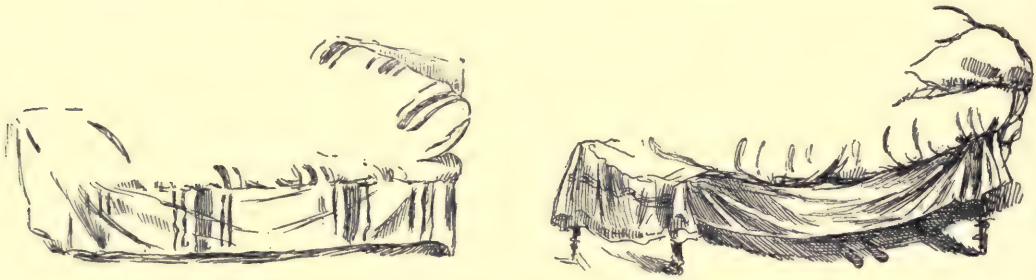
ON either side of the *atrium* there were bedrooms, so small that they were only as wide as the bed, which was enclosed in a little alcove, the *zoteca*.

The beds were usually made of wood, with bronze feet, and several specimens are richly inlaid with silver. They were covered with a mattress, a pillow, and cushions, and both beds and divans were covered with a drapery like certain striped Indian stuffs, as may be seen in our sketches from paintings at Pompei. Sometimes the bed stood on a platform raised above the marble floor, as in the House of Spurius Mesor. These *cubicula* were only used at night; they were lighted by very small openings, and by the door leading into the *atrium*. Several of these rooms had glazed bull's-eye windows. Women probably performed their toilettes in



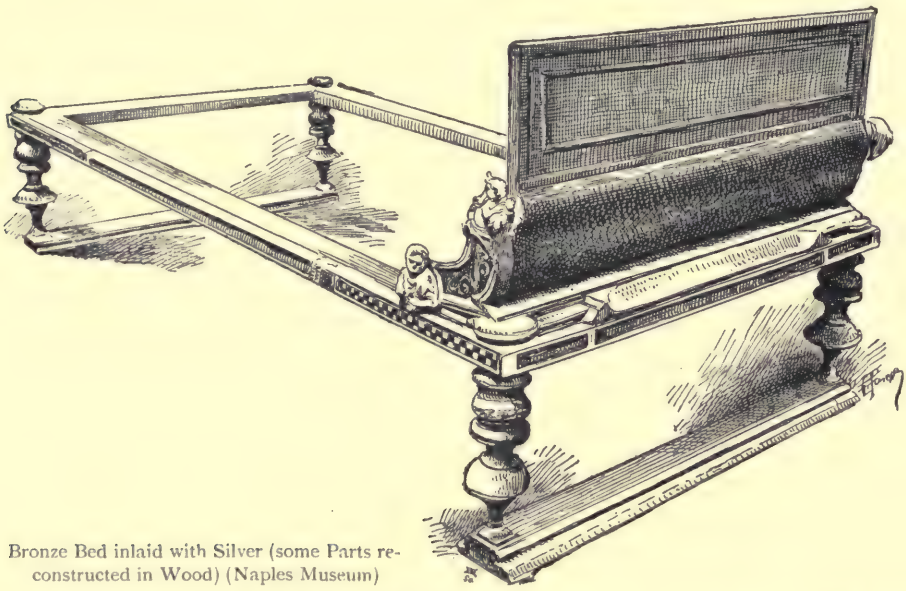
A Room in the House of Holconius

these cells, especially in the larger ones, which contained marble slabs supported on terms and fixed to the wall. But there were also special dressing-rooms, and in a house discovered in 1898, in Region VI., Insula XV., there is a small room painted with Cupids looking into mirrors and



Beds (Fragments of Paintings in a House in Region IX., Insula V.)

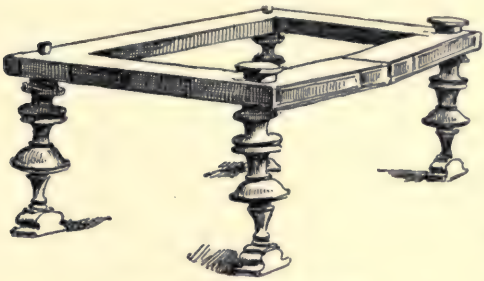
curling their locks, surrounded by the various articles of the toilette, while a nude Venus is twisting up her hair as though she had just emerged from the waves.



Bronze Bed inlaid with Silver (some Parts reconstructed in Wood) (Naples Museum)

On either side of the *atrium*, beyond the bedrooms, there are the *alæ* —two rooms without doors, which were the retired portions of the *atrium*, and at the same time the annexes of the *tablinum*. They were shut off by curtains and furnished with seats and lamps. But these *alæ* are not found in all the houses, and some houses have only one, like the *Casa della Caccia, del Poeta,* and *del Laberinto.*

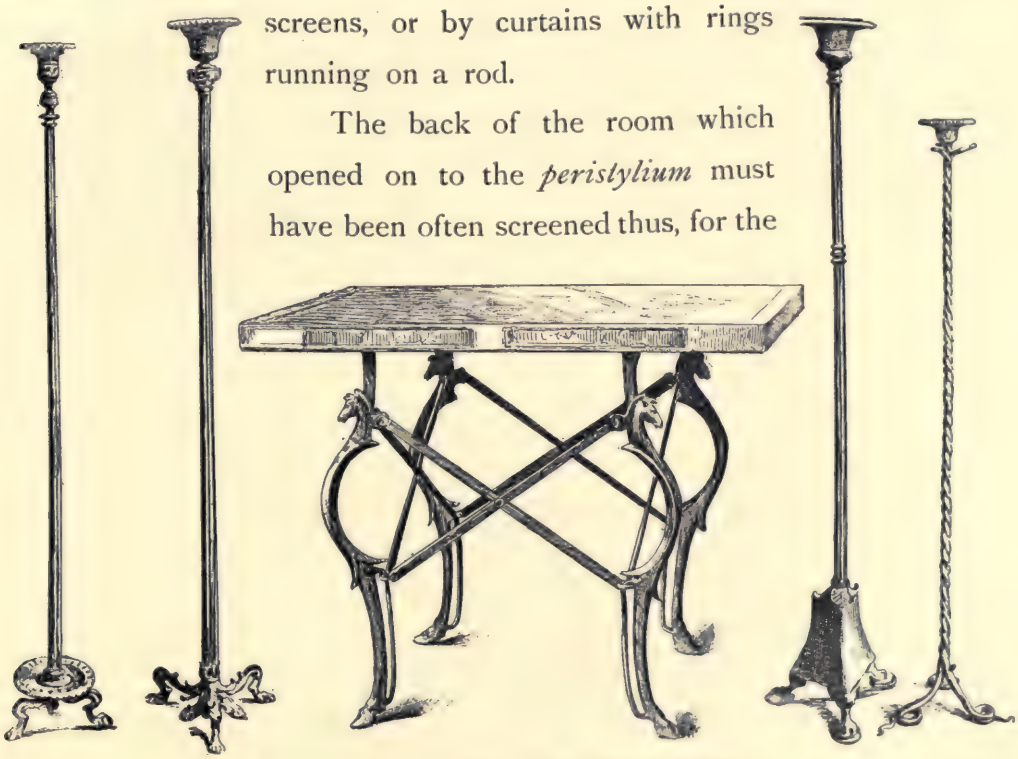
As the houses gradually increased in size, the master had a private room where he received his clients and transacted business (for the *atrium* had now become a place accessible to all). This was the *tablinum*, in the centre of the house, lying between the *atrium* and the *peristylium*. It was often very spacious, full of fountains, flowers, and shrubs. In most cases it had only the two lateral walls, but it could be closed at the ends by movable screens, or by curtains with rings running on a rod.



Bronze Seat (Naples Museum)

Wooden Seat reconstructed (Naples Museum)

The back of the room which opened on to the *peristylium* must have been often screened thus, for the draughts in a Pompeian *tablinum* at the present day make it an unpleasant place of sojourn in cold or rainy weather.



Bronze Candelabra and Folding Table (Naples Museum)

Some *tablina* are enclosed on all sides, and the end wall is sometimes pierced with a wide bay, which had shutters. The *tablinum* of the *Casa del Fauno* does not open into the *peristylium*, but has a wall breast-high at the farther end. In some cases the *tablinum* was like an *exedra*, and could only be entered by the *atrium*. An example of this type of *tablinum*

Atrium and Tablinum of the House of Pansa

is found in that part of the House of Siricus which is situated on the *Vico del Lupanare*.

The *tablinum* is nearly always raised one step above the *atrium*, and in certain houses the family archives were kept there. In the summer, on great occasions, the shutters and the hangings were thrown back, and banquets were given in the *tablinum*, recalling the time when it was used as a *triclinium*. The effect must have been extremely picturesque; the guests looked out on the porticoes of the *peristylium* in perspective, and on the polychrome walls of the *atrium;* the banquet itself, in the midst of these decorative surroundings, must have been a brilliant scene.

On one side of the *tablinum* ran the *andron*, a corridor uniting the

Bronze Vessel (Naples Museum)

*atrium* and *peristylium*, and generally found on the right-hand side of the *tablinum*.*

* According to Mau, the term *fauces*, commonly applied to these corridors, is incorrect.

# IV

THE PERISTYLIUM—THE VIRIDARIUM—MOSAIC FOUNTAINS—THE AQUARIUM—THE APOTHECA—THE ŒCUS—THE EXEDRA—THE GARDEN—THE TRICLINIA—THE KITCHENS—THE LATRINÆ—THE BATHS—THE VENEREUM

THE *peristylium*,* a Greek innovation, resembled the Corinthian *atrium*, but was much larger. The area had increased considerably. Here the Pompeians walked, and their children played and ran about, when the open court was not laid out with beds of flowers as a *viridarium*. In the centre there were *piscinæ*, and statues, fountains forming cascades, tables and basins of marble, terms and bronzes, adorned this charming spot, the favourite living-room of the household. The porticoes were wide, and numerous columns supported the attic storey. The water from the roof ran into a gutter at the foot of the colonnade, and was carried off into cisterns.

One of the largest *peristylia* is that of the *Casa del Centenario*, which was discovered in 1879, exactly 1800 years after the destruction of the city.† The special interest of this *peristylium* lies in the phases of style shown in its decoration. The columns of the portico, some of which are in good preservation, are coated with white stucco and have their bases painted red, while their Tuscan capitals are encircled by blue and scarlet fillets.

* The arrangement of the *peristylium* is like that of the old cloisters.

† This anniversary was celebrated by fêtes, and a fine series of reproductions, entitled *Pompei e la Regione sotterata*, was published for the occasion.

The more dilapidated columns, however, show traces of having been altered* to suit the taste of the day; a wooden trellis between them, enclosing the area of the *peristylium*, converted it into a court, which was possibly used to shut in live animals. Originally this *peristylium* was of the Ionic order, with fluted columns of tufa; and the fallen capitals that lie by the wall are of the same material. But only the columns had been

Peristylium (House of Holconius)

preserved, while their flutings had been filled up and levelled by a thick coat of stucco, and the new capitals† are of the Roman-Doric order. Some of the columns, indeed, have been entirely replaced by columns of brick. The red bases are not of very ancient date, and were often a later addition to the shafts of fluted tufa, for in the oldest houses we do not find these

* This alteration must have taken place in the year 15 A.D., as is shown by an inscription on the walls.

† The capitals in Pompei are often extremely fantastic in style, and do not belong to any recognised order. They are "Pompeian," and show traces of Egyptian influence.

coloured bands on the columns, which are often without bases, as in Greek-Doric.

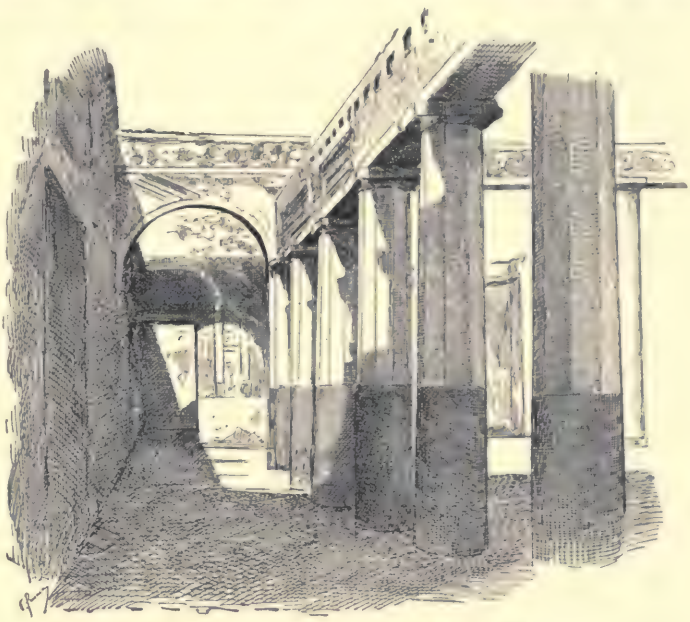
Another instance of one of these restorations of the late period is given in a plate in Mazois' book, showing a *tetrastyle atrium*, the dilapidated columns of which display a lower course of fluted tufa, surmounted by a shaft built entirely of bricks. The fluted surfaces have been levelled and a coat of stucco applied to the whole of the column, the base of which is painted black. Broadly speaking, it may therefore be asserted that brick columns covered with stucco were used after the year 15 A.D., and that the tufa columns are relics of old houses dating from the Græco-Samnite period.

Many houses—some of the most luxurious among the number—had not sufficient space for a complete *peristylium*. They have courts with three porticoes, or, when the garden lies in an angle of the court, with two. When this was the case, pilasters were painted on the walls opposite the columns, as in the House of Jucundus, where there is a graceful marble basin and fountain of water between two central columns, opposite an *exedra*. Sometimes these simulated pilasters are in stucco relief, as in the *Casa delle Parete nere*, which has a *peristylium* with three porticoes; and in the *Casa di Adone*, which has two. In the *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento* there is a *Rhodian peristylium*, in which the portico near the *atrium* is higher than those on the other sides

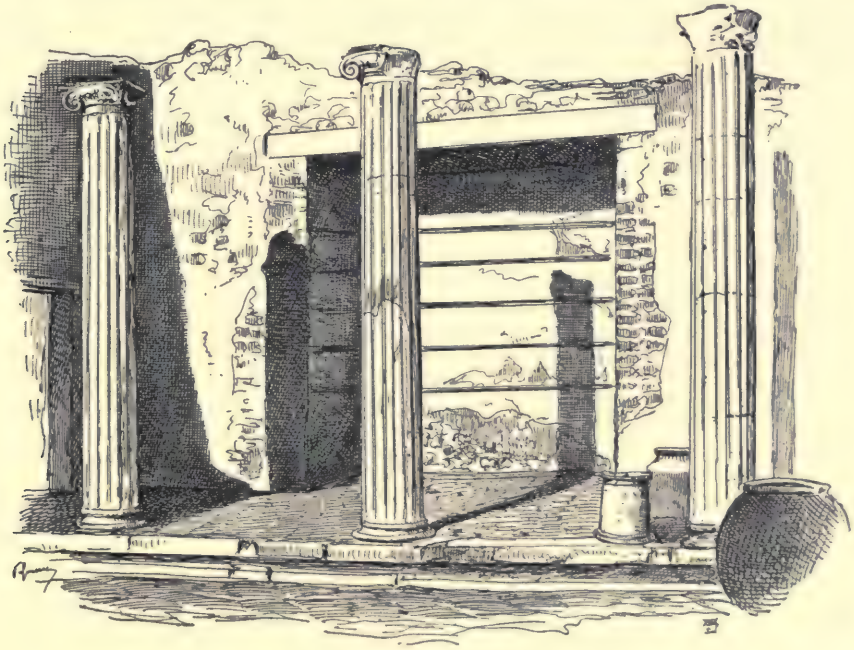
In several gardens and *peristylia* there are mosaic fountains or water-towers, with niches and statuettes, against the principal wall. Only the mosaic fountains are in good preservation: the dominant blue of their decorations is gay and attractive. Statuettes of Cupids or fishers stood on the pedestals, and their main outlines are ornamented with shells, which give them a *rococo* character not unpleasing in the Pompeian *mise-en-scène*. One of these fountains has on its two uprights lamps in the form of masks that could be filled with oil, from which the light shone through the eyes and mouth with a somewhat fantastic effect.

There are mosaic fountains in the *Casa dell' Orso, dei Scienzata, della Piccola Fontana, della Grande Fontana,* and in two other houses. (See Plate XII.)

A mosaic niche was also found (in the *Casa del Centenario*), standing above some marble steps down which the water fell in a cascade into a *piscina*. The ornament is Egyptian in character, and a statue of Silenus, found not far from the fountains, probably occupied



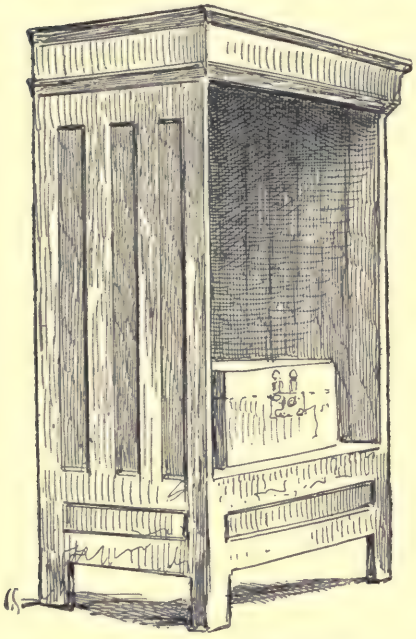
Rhodian Peristylium of the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento



Apotheca (House of Paquius Proculus)

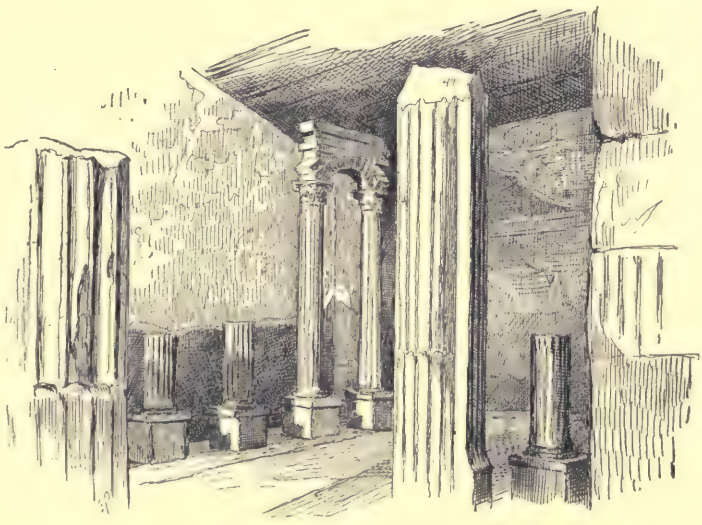
the niche, which is the centre of a scheme of decoration consisting of wild animals. On a level with the fountains there are basins of cement

which may have been used as fish-ponds, and which have circular openings fitted with perforated plugs of terra cotta. The outer walls are painted with ducks, fish, and *cetaceæ* on a blue-grey background, and have almost the effect of an actual aquarium.



Wooden Cupboard (Apotheca) reconstructed (Museum of Pompei)

Rooms which were used for various purposes opened into the porticoes of the *peristylium*, and are found in the storey above. They were occupied chiefly by the servants. The more richly decorated ones served as the women's apartments (*gynecæa*), which were always in the most secluded part of the house. They were also used as chambers for members of the family, like the rooms round the *atrium*, especially when the latter were reserved for strangers; and they were even sometimes turned into *apothecæ*, for the nails and the marks left by the shelves and boards are still to be seen on the walls.

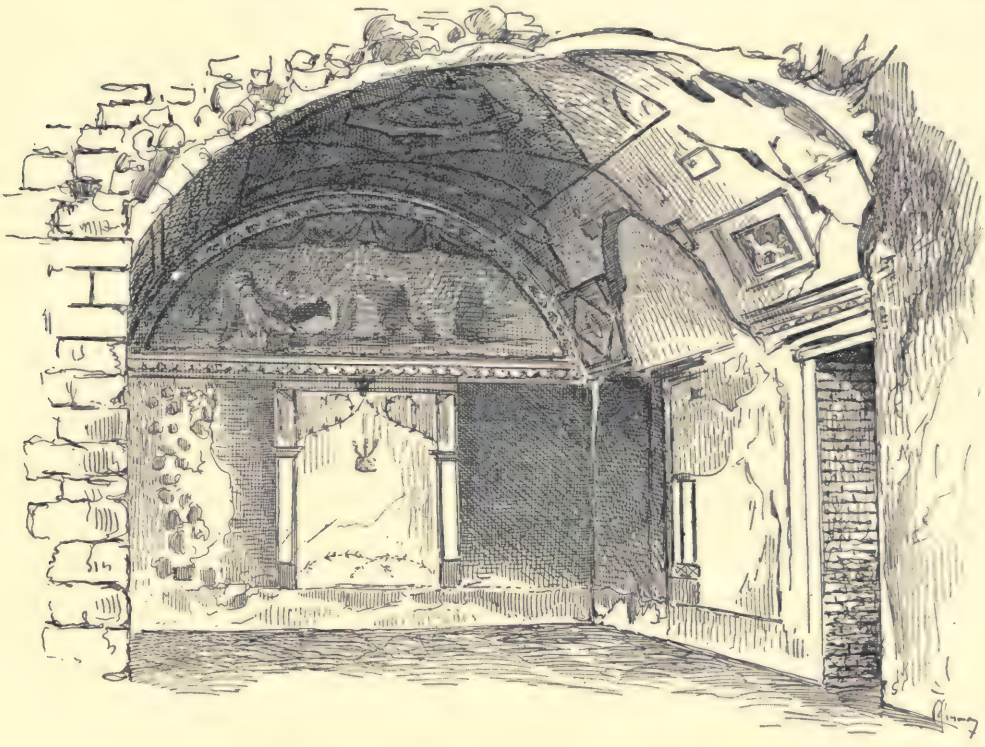


Corinthian Œcus (Casa di Meleagro)

At the back of the *peristylium* there usually stood the *œcus* and the *exedra* — corresponding to our modern drawing-rooms — where people met together, talked, danced, read, and heard music. At Pompei there were also *Corinthian œci*, with columns which may have supported a terrace, as in the *Casa del Laberinto* and the *Casa di Meleagro*. On great days the *œcus* was the dining-room. Sometimes in the *œcus*—though never

in the *exedra*—the end wall is pierced by a bay opening into the *xystus* (or garden where fruit and vegetables were grown), which lay at the back of the house. The kitchen garden was the province of the wife, who made pickles with vinegar. The cabbages of Pompei were celebrated, and Pliny writes that it is pleasant to grow some of one's food at home.

The winter *triclinium* also opened into the *peristylium*, and stood

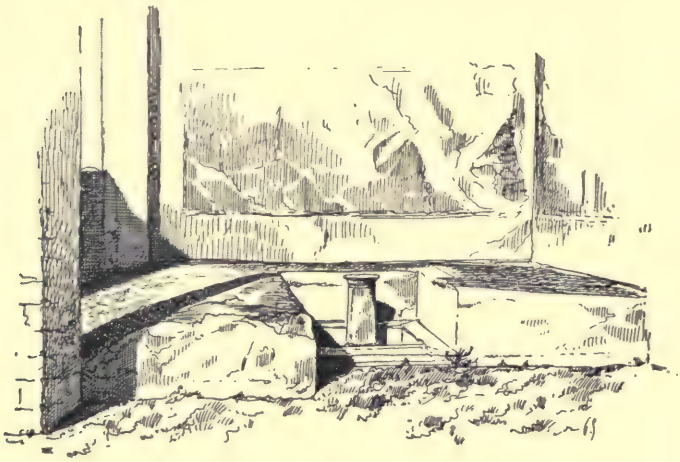


Vaulted Œcus (Region IX. Insula I. Street of Stabiæ)

in one corner of the portico. (Some of these *triclinia* also communicated with the *atrium*.) This room often has a large window, for the Pompeians would not have taken their principal meal in darkness. This meal, the *cœna*, was eaten about the eighth hour, before three o'clock in the afternoon. Three couches or *triclinia* surrounded the table on three sides, each couch accommodating three persons, making nine in all. Meals were eaten reclining and resting on one elbow, hence the expression "*to lean on one's elbow in a man's house*"* meant *to dine out*. This custom

* Petronius XXVII.

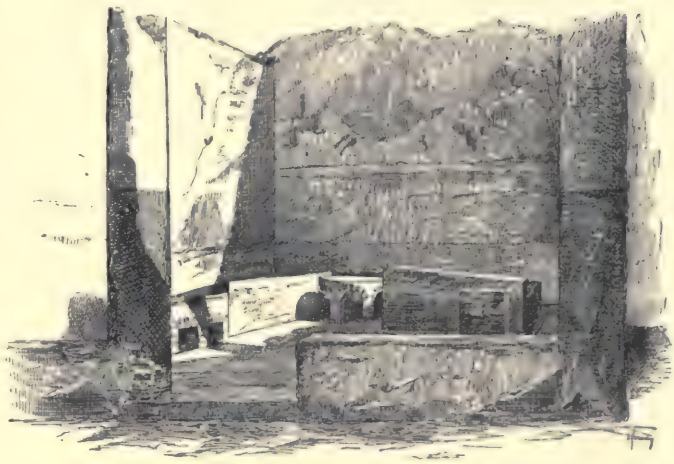
of reclining was not general, except among the wealthy, and paintings in Pompei show that light meals were taken seated. Originally the dining-room was called the *cœnaculum*, and was a room in the upper storey; hence all upper rooms came to be known as *cœnacula*, just as every *œcus* was called a *triclinium*, even when there was but one couch.



Summer Triclinium in the House of Sallust

Besides the winter *triclinium*, there was the summer *triclinium*, sheltered by a *velum*, or a trellis of vines supported by four pillars, on which were painted vine-leaves and bunches of grapes (house in the Street of Nola). In the summer *triclinium* the couches are not movable; they consist of three blocks of stone, each sloping slightly outwards. A small chafing-dish of brick, where hot dishes were placed, is sometimes found. In the centre of the couches stands a square or circular block of stone covered by a marble slab, or a light *monopodium*. This table seems very small when we remember that nine people could dine in a *triclinium;* but there were always slaves to serve the guests and to hold and hand whatever was required. The remains of the feast were thrown on the floor; for in mosaics of *triclinia* bones, peelings, and scraps of all kinds are represented in the "*asarotos œcos*" ("unswept œci"), and the dogs and cats ate up what was thus provided for them. Only glass goblets or *canthari*, little bowls, earthenware, glass, or silver plates were placed on the *monopodium*. The paintings on the wall at the back of the *triclinium* represented hunting scenes or simulated architecture. A small altar was sometimes placed before the summer *triclinium*, where the master of the house made offering to the gods before the meal.

Among the houses with summer *triclinia* are the *Casa dell' Ancora*, the *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento*, and the House of Sallust. In a quarter of Pompei that is not often visited, Region I., there are two couches of stone at right angles in a corner, forming a *biclinium*, the only example of such an arrangement, I believe, in Pompei.



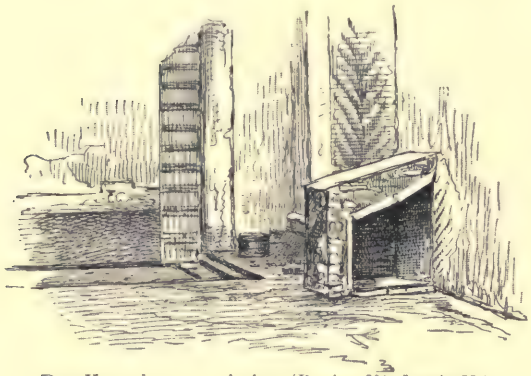
Summer Triclinium (Region IX. Insula V. Street of Nola)

Marble Monopodium

The kitchen of the Græco-Roman house was furnished with large brick stoves, on which stood iron tripods, with saucepans (*cacabi*) and gridirons, all of which have been left as they were found in the curious House of the Vettii. Sometimes there is an altar to Fornax against the walls. One in very good preservation was found in 1898, with yellow serpents painted on a crimson background. The stove is built on the same model as that in the House of the Vettii, and many others. The kitchens of Pompei were by no means luxurious, or even clean, to judge by the modern kitchens in the country round, which are very like the kitchens of ancient times in arrangement, for in Southern Italy habits have changed but little.

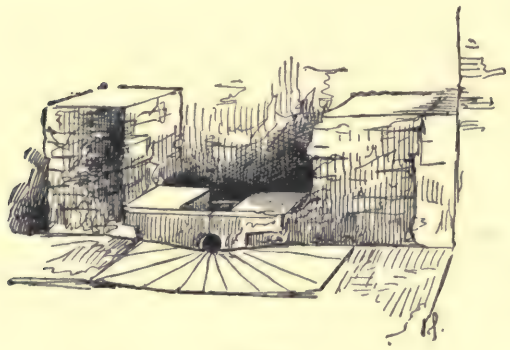
Biclinium (Region I. Insula I.)

The same may be said of the *latrinæ*, which were often close to the kitchen, through which it was necessary to pass to reach them. They are extremely small, and must have been quite dark; in some cases they are only ventilated from the kitchen. The seat was made of two blocks of masonry, on which was placed a slab of marble or a pierced board. (Several of these have been reconstructed.) In front of the seat the floor is paved, and slopes towards a small opening, through which liquids drained away. This primitive arrangement still obtains in Italy. In one house in Pompei there is a recess in the wall of a passage in which is fixed a tufa basin, open at the bottom, which may have served as a urinal or a *vomitorium*, or both.



Dog-Kennel near an Atrium (Region IX. Insula V.)

The Kitchen of the Vettii



Latrinæ

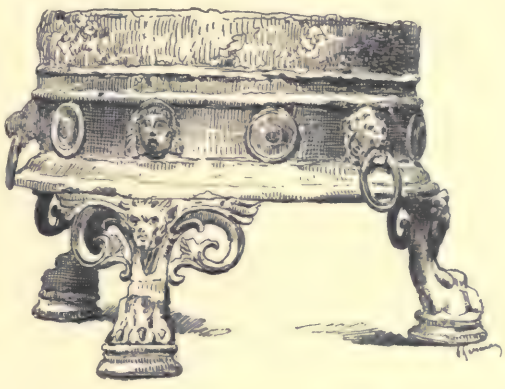
Some of the more important houses have private baths; for example, the *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento*, *del Centenario*, *del Laberinto*, and the House of Blandus. In the baths of the *Casa del Centenario* the *apodyterium* is still preserved, and the open *frigidarium*, with its *piscina*

to which the bathers mounted by a few steps. The *tepidarium* and the *caldarium* had walls of hollow bricks. The baths of the *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento* are rather picturesque in appearance. The *piscina*, which is fed by a marble fountain, is sunk in a garden. The *apodyterium*, where also the inmates took their *siesta*, was decorated with paintings, and communicates directly with the *piscina* by a small door. Another door on the opposite side led from the garden to a *caldarium* in the form of a semi-dome, with a window that can be seen from the *piscina*. This corner of Pompei is very oriental in character, especially when the sun throws long blue shadows, bringing out the strong lights on the yellow walls.

Bronze Brazier to place in the Baths (Naples Museum)

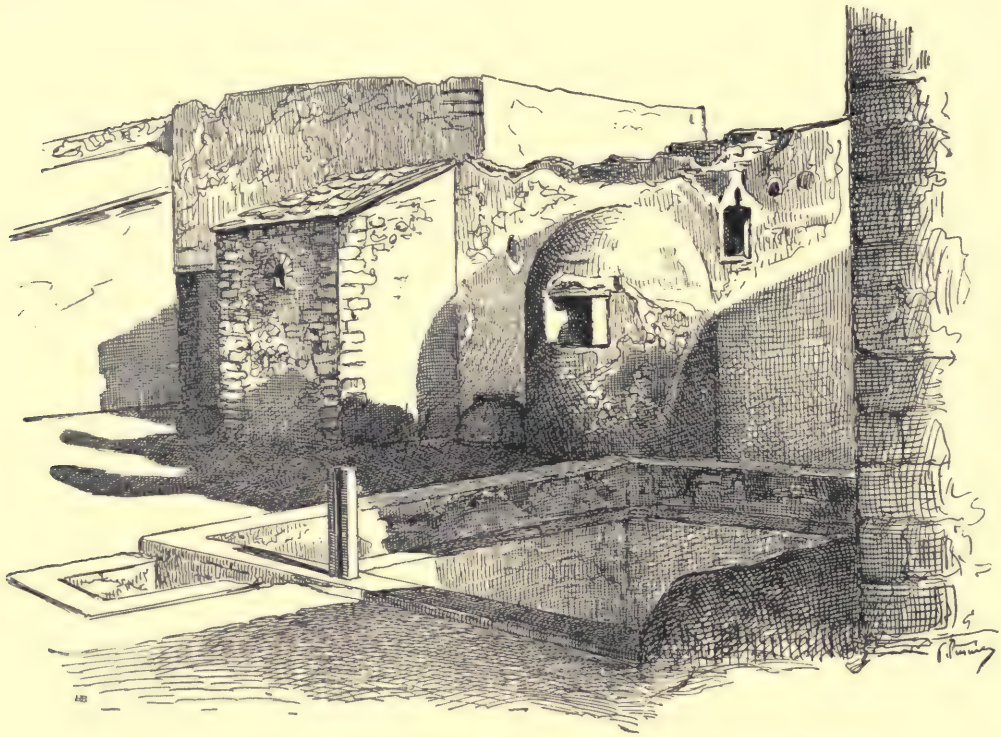
Bronze Tap (Naples Museum)

The *venereum* in certain houses is near the baths. The master of the *Casa del Centenario* possessed not only large rooms and a double *atrium*, but a small set of private rooms (of which the baths formed part). They consist of a charming *triclinium* decorated with paintings, and a *procœton*, the walls painted with nude dancing-girls, which leads to the *venereum*, the room set apart for the pleasures of Venus. Two panels of this room are painted with obscene subjects, and that at the end of the room represents a drunken Hercules overcome by Cupid. There is a small opening rather



Bronze Brazier (Naples Museum)

above the eye-level in the wall which separates this room from the *procœton* or ante-chamber, and through this window food and stimulants were probably passed into the *venereum*. A secret door, the *posticum*, leads from this room into the lane near by.



Baths in the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento

Another *venereum*, also decorated with erotic subjects, was found in a house close by, and there are others in the Street of the Theatres, and in the House of Sallust and of the Vettii. In the *Vico di Eumachia* there is also a room in which was found a painting of two figures (now removed to the Naples Museum) with the well-known inscription: "*Lente impelle.*"

# V

## SMALLER HOUSES—THE SOLARIUM—THE STAIRS—THE CŒNACULUM—THE CELLARS

BESIDES the large and richly-decorated houses, there are many smaller houses with neither *atrium* nor *peristylium*. Sometimes it is the *tablinum* which is wanting, as in the House of Siricus, near the *Strada Stabiana*. In the same street (Region IX., Insula V.) there is a small dwelling, the entire front of which is taken up by a shop, which forms the entrance. Leading from the shop are a *tablinum*, and a *triclinium* with a large bay opening on to a small court where flowers were grown, which gave air and light to two rooms. At the back a small staircase leads to the rooms on the upper storey, where the windows all look out on the little court.

Other houses, like the houses of which we give the plans, had a sort of truncated *atrium*. In Fig. A the kitchens and the *latrinæ* are situated on one side of the *prothyrum*, which leads to the *atrium;* and the *impluvium* stands against the wall. On either side of it there are stairs leading to the upper rooms or *cœnacula*. Opposite the *impluvium* there is a *tablinum*, a *triclinium*, two rooms, and a small chamber in which the under part of the staircase forms a large vaulted recess.

In Fig. B the shop opens into the street, and there is a kitchen at the back of the house. This shop leads into a small *atrium*, with a treble-pitched roof supported by two columns and two half-columns

placed against the wall, which runs along one side of the *impluvium*. There is another room on the ground-floor and several on the upper storey.

Some houses, though without an *atrium*, have a fair-sized open space which was used as a *viridarium*, or pleasure-garden, and had a portico on one or more of its sides, where blocks of masonry, hollowed like troughs, were placed between the columns and filled with shrubs and flowers. Such a cool and pleasant corner formed part of the house of a small tradesman of Pompei. Every family, indeed, seems to have had its "home," whether large or small, rich or poor.*

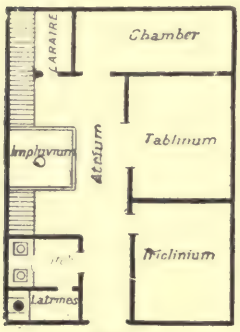


Fig. A

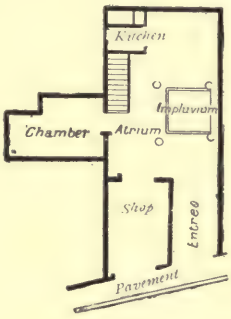


Fig. B

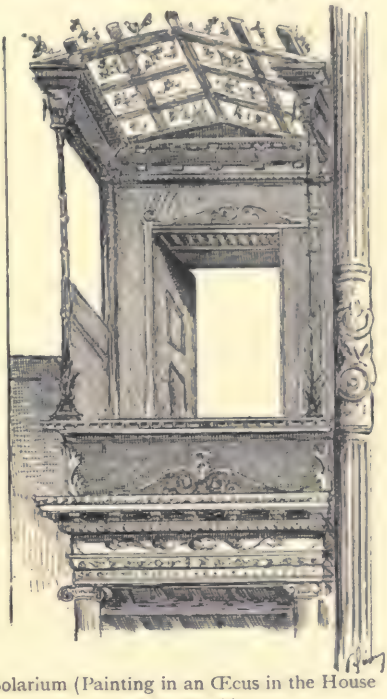
Nothing gives a clearer or more vivid picture of the household life of the time than a visit to these Pompeian homes, where every detail was arranged to make life as pleasant as possible, and where every house of any importance was a little centre under the protection of the gods. The Pompeians certainly took pleasure in surrounding themselves with pretty toys. The marble statuettes of the *atrium* and *peristylium*, the vivid colours of the mural decorations with their erotic images, the cool porticoes shaded by the *velarium*, the scent of the flower-beds in the *viridarium*, the plash of the fountains, the gentle doves and brilliant peacocks that haunted the *peristylium*,† all combined to delight, and to give charm to an indolent life passed in the midst of such fair surroundings.

Modern House in the Country near Pompei

* Many small houses in Pompei bear a strong likeness to modern houses in the neighbourhood inhabited by peasants. They have the same stairs, the same terraces, the same vaulted rooms, the same outside windows, set rather high in the wall. Every detail recalls the little houses of the ancients.

† Some paintings represent women feeding peacocks and doves.

The houses of Pompei, indeed, display the utmost fancy and ingenuity consistent with the taste and fortune of their owners and the exigencies of the sites on which they stand. The houses that overlook the valley have a magnificent view, and are built with infinite art and a strong feeling for the beauties of Nature. They are ranged one above the other, and have several storeys leading to rooms roofed by broad terraces always bathed in sunlight; these were shaded by awnings or by trellises of creepers. The bases of the supporting columns are still to be seen. In these *solaria* full of flowers the heat of the day was tempered by the sea-breezes; and in the evening, from the privileged houses that lie between the Gate of the Seashore and the Villa of Diomedes, the inmates could watch the setting sun as it sank into the sea.

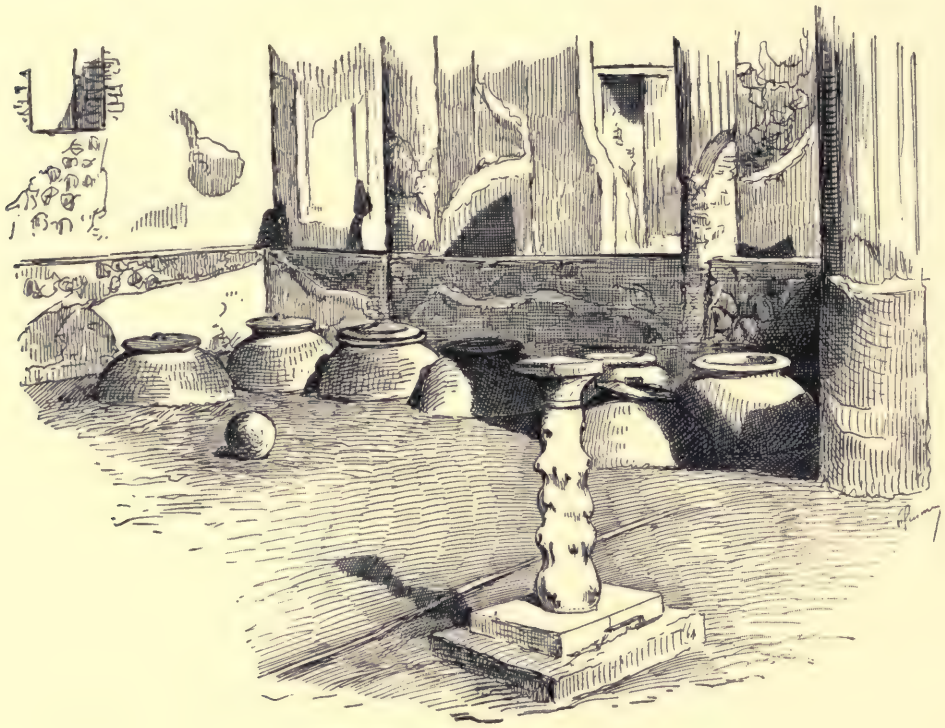


Solarium (Painting in an Œcus in the House of the Vetti)

Staircase (Region VII. Insula VI.)

The houses in the interior of the city had a view of the mountains from the windows of the upper rooms or *cœnacula*, and a small *solarium* was frequently placed on the terraced roofs. We can judge of the appearance of these *solaria* from pictures representing them. Many of the house-roofs of Pompei must have been nearly flat or slightly rounded. They were made for the most part of beaten mortar. Even the houses with tiled roofs sloped very little. There are specimens of these roofs in various drawings.

The staircases leading to the upper rooms were of several kinds. The majority were made of wood and have entirely disappeared; traces of them may be found against the wall; and the lowest steps, which were made of stone or masonry, are still in existence. It is possible



Store-room (Region VIII. Insula IV.)

to mount these, but the steps are very steep and narrow. The staircase did not always consist of one flight; it sometimes turned off at a right angle, forming a small landing half way up. The staircase was often supported by a stone arch, forming a large recess, which was sometimes used as a shrine for the Lares, and sometimes as a cupboard or *apotheca.*

A house in the Street of Nola is an exception to the general rule, for the staircase is comparatively broad, sufficiently so for three people to walk abreast on it. Some large houses have three separate staircases, like the *Casa di Arriana*; for here the loftiness of the *tablinum*, the *œcus*, and the *triclinium* prevented communication on the upper storey, where

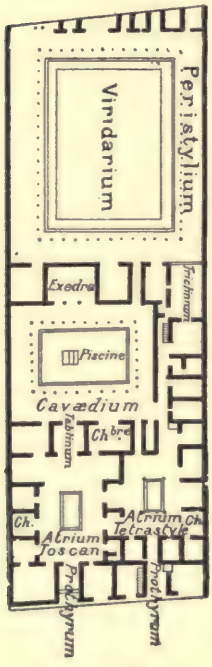
the women's apartments and the slaves' quarters (*ergastum*) were situated, and stores of all kinds were kept. Indeed, the *cœnaculum* over the *atrium* and that over the *peristylium* seem always to have formed two distinct suites, and had separate staircases. The *cœnacula*, which were let by some householders, often had a private staircase leading directly from the street. These upper rooms were probably tenanted by the small tradesmen of Pompei (*inquilini*), in whose shops, as a rule, we find no trace of living-rooms.

Cellars are very rare at Pompei, and several have been walled up to prevent the escape of mephitic gases. They are only found, as a rule, in the dwellings of large householders or of wine merchants. There are immense cellars near the Porta Marina, but they are rather storehouses than cellars, and their grated air-holes look out on to a garden sloping down from them. Some wine-merchants and other dealers simply planted their *dolia* in the soil of their gardens.

# VI

## VARIOUS HOUSES

WE will next examine houses which have certain distinctive features. The first we will take is one of the oldest in Pompei, the *Casa del Fauno*, so called from the bronze statue of a dancing faun found in the centre of the *impluvium*. Before the door on the footpath of *opus signinum* is inscribed in white letters the word HAVE (greeting). The house has the appearance of a small palace. The casings of coloured stucco, the rich mosaic of the *Battle of Arbela* (see Part VI.), the Tuscan and the tetrastyle *atrium*, the Corinthian *cavædium* and the immense *peristylium*, impress the spectator by their simplicity and the graceful proportions of their columns and pilasters. There are no paintings in the *Casa del Fauno*, with the exception of two small monochromes representing Diana and Apollo Citharædus. The decoration consists entirely of mosaics and imitations of marble.



Casa del Fauno

Two small altars were found here. One of travertine, dedicated to Flora, had an Oscan inscription; and on the other is inscribed the name of *Maïus Purius, quæstor*. Inscriptions were also found on the columns:* "*Victoria vale et ubique vis suaviter sternutes*"—"Victory and greeting! sneeze where you will, and good luck to you!" Some skeletons were found in the house, and

* Fiorelli.

one of them, a woman, wore on her finger a gold ring with the name Cassia on it; hence the *House of the Faun* is also known as the *Domus Cassiæ.*

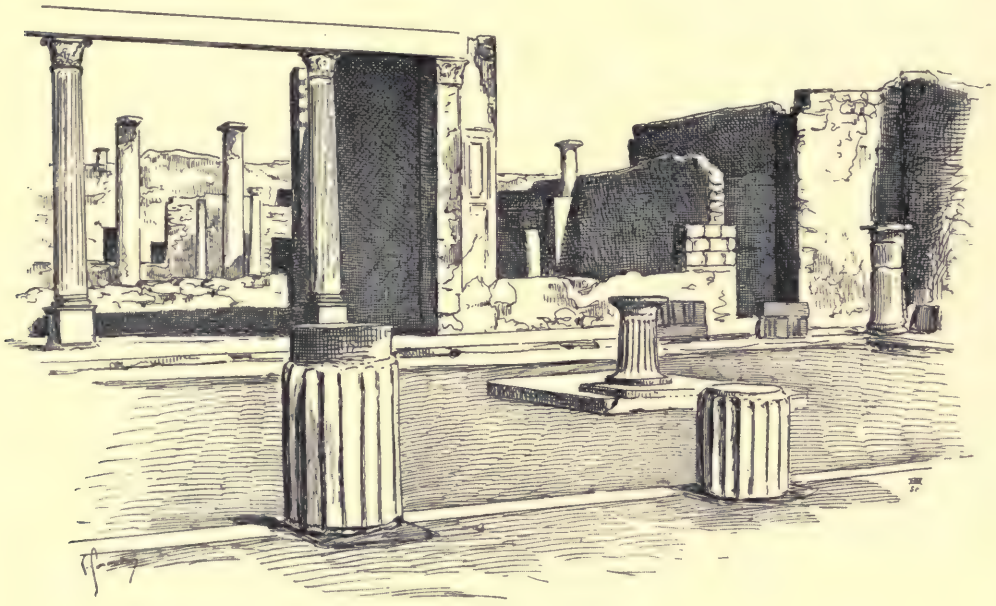
It should be noticed that in all the old houses in Pompei, dating from

Ostium of the Casa del Fauno

the Samnite period, the fronts are of blocks of tufa—a sure sign of their antiquity. The *Casa del Fauno* is one of the most Greek in style in the city, and Monceaux, when he visited it, went so far as to say that he could imagine himself at Delos or Athens.*

* Saglio's Dict. *Domus.*

The *House of Sallust* (*Domus coss. Libani*) is of the same period, but is very different in plan. The Tuscan *atrium* and the surrounding rooms are decorated in the same style as the *House of the Faun;* and in the centre of the *impluvium* was a bronze group of *Hercules with the Doe with Brazen Feet*, which was placed before a marble basin and sent a spray of water into the air. The special interest of the *House of Sallust* lies in the



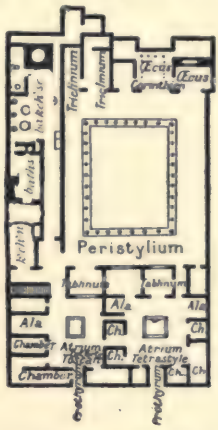
Peristylium of the Casa del Fauno

more secluded part, where there is a *viridarium* surrounded on three sides by a peristyle of octagonal columns with red bases. The wall at the farther end has a large painting in which Actæon, surprising Diana bathing, is changed into a stag and torn by his own hounds. The background of the walls of the peristyle is painted black, and covered with fantastic architectural details, birds, and fauns. Phryxus and Helle, and Europa on the bull, are the principal figures of two compositions in the centre of the panels.

In this house there are two *triclinia*, a winter and a summer one. The summer *triclinium* lies at the end of a small garden, and its wall is painted with a large landscape representing a dense wood. Opposite this

wall there was a portico where stone boxes filled with flowers and shrubs stood in the intercolumniations.

The *House of the Labyrinth* (*Casa del Laberinto*) is built on the same lines as the *Casa del Fauno*, but it has only one *peristylium*, and its mural decoration dates from the period when Pompei was a Roman colony (Second Style, see Part VI.). Painting replaces coloured stucco, and the little rooms at the back of the house are decorated with small friezes, where portraits of women alternate with grotesque embryo-pigmies. The figures are painted in monochrome, while the decorations imitate the richest kinds of marble. Near the *Corinthian œcus*, already mentioned, there is a very delicate mosaic of *Theseus killing the Minotaur in the centre of the Labyrinth*, from which the house takes its name. In the part of the house near the Tuscan *atrium* stood the strong-box; and there are rooms decorated with paintings of the *Rape of Europa* and the *Deserted Ariadne*. A *pistrinum*, with all its mills and baths, was also found here.



Casa del Laberinto

The *House of Pansa*, which we gave as a typical specimen of a Græco-Roman house, is part of an "island" called the *insula Arriana Polliana*, owned by one Cneus Nigidus Maïus, who lived in the main part of the house, and let the shops and outbuildings (*domus conducticia*) through an agent named Primus, one of his slaves. The façade dates from the Samnite period. The whole house, although it has but one *atrium*, greatly resembles the *Casa del Fauno*.

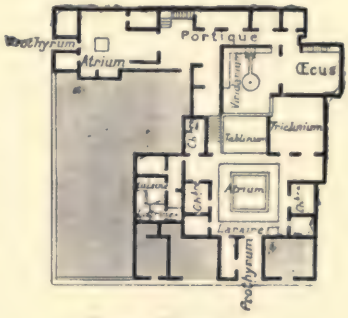
Scarcely anything remains of the fine paintings that once decorated the walls. A *Danaë receiving the Golden Shower* and a *Seated Nymph pouring Water from a Horn* were among them, and there was a painting dedicated to Fornax and the Lares in the kitchen. A curious group of Bacchus and Ampelus was found among the flower-beds of the *viridarium*.

The *House of the Citharista* (*Casa del Citarista*), or of Lucius Popidius Secundus, has two *atria* and three *peristylia* on different levels, for the house looks into two streets, one of which, the Street of Stabiæ, is considerably lower than the other. The *Casa del Citarista* consisted originally of two houses, which were made into one by an opening between two of the *peristylia*. The *Apollo Citharœdus* was found in this house. The *cithara* has disappeared, but the god still holds the *plectrum*. The bronze statue is life-size and deliberately archaic in style (see Part VI.). It is the only specimen of this kind hitherto discovered at Pompei. It was found* near a fountain in the garden of one of the *peristylia*, the walls of which were decorated with fine paintings. These were at once removed to Naples. The bronze animals in the Naples Museum—a *Wild Boar attacked by Dogs*, and a *Serpent and Stag*—were taken from the second garden, where they served as jets in a semicircular marble fountain. The rooms and the *exedra* of the house were richly decorated.

The *House of Marcus Lucretius* is also curious and interesting. Lucretius was a duumvir and a flamen of Mars; his name and offices are recorded in a painting found in the house. It represents all kinds of writing materials, a tablet with two divisions, a style, a spatula, an inkstand, and bears the following dedication: "*M. Lecrutio flam. Martis decurioni Pompei.*" In plan the house is in the shape of a letter L. In the *triclinium* was found a *lectisternium*, a bronze couch ornamented with plates of silver. The walls are covered with large paintings of *Hercules Drunk in the House of Omphale, with Bacchantes; The Infant Bacchus; Sileni and Fauns; Bacchus and the Bacchantes holding Thyrsi*—all very suitable subjects for the decoration of a *triclinium*. A large window looks out on a small garden, the soil of which is banked up breast high. Little statuettes and animals are arranged about it in a naïvely childish fashion. At the end of the garden is a small niche of mosaic and shells, ornamented with dolphins and reeds, and occupied by a white marble Silenus holding an

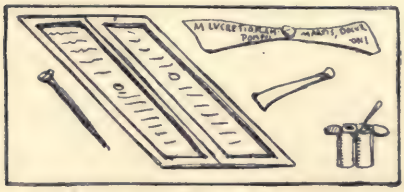
* In the excavations of 1853–54.

amphora, from which fell a stream of water. On the left, above some steps, is a court where a staircase led to the upper storey. A second *atrium*, with its dependencies, lies in the short limb of the L, and a *prothyrum* opens from it into a lane near by. The *House of Lucretius* is, in fact, two houses made into one; in the smaller, the steward and slaves were probably lodged. The *graffito* of the labyrinth was discovered in this house.



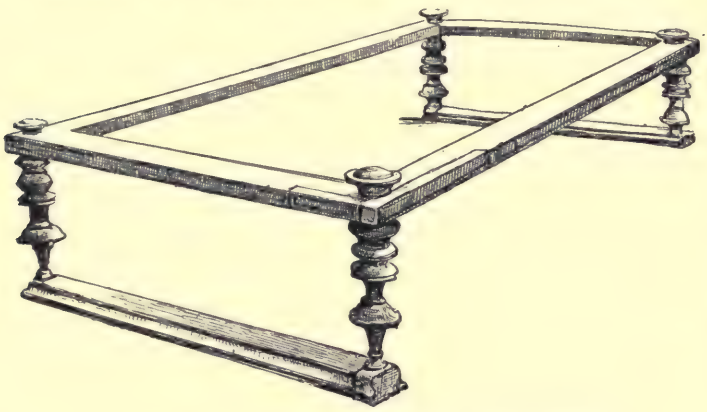
House of Lucretius

The *House of the Chase* (*Casa della Caccia*) takes its name from a painting at the end of the garden, which no doubt represents scenes from a *venatio* in the amphitheatre: a wild boar wounded by a hunter and seized by a dog; a bull attacked by a leopard and chased by a lion; roes, deer, &c. As a rule, the decoration of the rooms in this house belongs to the late period, and the details are in bad taste; the single exception is the *tablinum*, which we reproduce in a coloured plate (No. IV.). The delicate blue background of its panels harmonises very happily with the white and red columns of the peristyle at the farther end. The tufa façade dates from the Samnite period, but the house was rebuilt after the earthquake of 63.


Painting in the House of Lucretius

Tablinum and Viridarium of the House of Lucretius

The *House of the Tragic Poet* (*Casa del Poeta tragico*), with its red and yellow walls, is reproduced in coloured plate No. IV. It owes its name to its numerous paintings of scenes from the *Iliad* and its mosaics of scenes from various plays.* In the *prothyrum* is the well-known mosaic of a chained dog, with the words *Cave Canem.* The Tuscan *atrium* is surrounded by small rooms; next to it is the *tablinum*, and a portico surrounding the *viridarium*, where there is an *ædicula* to the genii of the house and Silenus. There are also other rooms, a *triclinium*, a kitchen, and a room which seems to have been used as an *apotheca.*



Bronze Couch for Meals, Lectisternum (Naples Museum)

The principal paintings found here are: *Chryseis and her Father; Jupiter and Juno on Mount Ida; Orestes, Pylades, and Electra; Achilles and Briseïs; Apollo and Daphne* (treated in an obscene manner); and a composition which is supposed to represent *Terence reading Poetry aloud to several Persons.* The painting of the greatest value, however, is the *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, which is possibly a copy of the original by Timanthes.†

The Game of the Labyrinth (Graffito in the House of Lucretius)

The *House of the Centenary* (*Casa del Centenario*) was so named in commemoration of the eighteenth centenary of the destruction of Pompei, which coincided with its discovery (1879). It is also called the *House of*

* In *The Last Days of Pompei*, by Bulwer Lytton, the hero Glaucus inhabits this house.

† See Part VI.

*the Drunken Faun*,* from a fine statuette which stood in the centre of the *peristylium*. The building, as a whole, dates from the beginning of the Roman period in Pompei, and the decoration is carried out in two distinct styles, one of which is the so-called *Style of the Candelabrum* (see Part VI.). From an inscription in the house against a drawing of a gladiator, it is certain that the decoration of one of the rooms is earlier than November 6, 15 A.D. (*Offiosus fugit VIII. idus nov. Druso Cæsare M. Junio Silano Cos.*).†

A small room, decorated with Egyptian religious figures, leads into the principal *atrium* of the house, and two winter *triclinia* or *œci* open

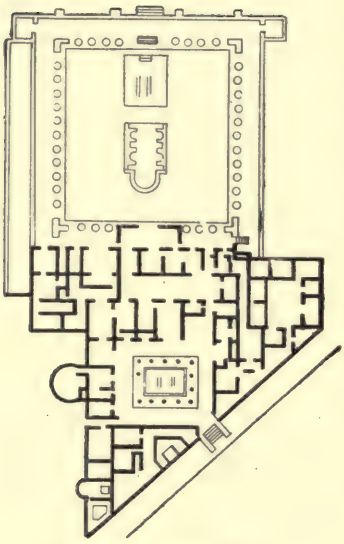
Terra-cotta Lamps (Naples Museum)

directly into the *peristylium*. One is decorated in black, while in the other the delicate ornaments are painted in very light tones on white stucco, contrasting strongly with the sombre colour of the first *triclinium*. At the back of the house there is an *exedra* flanked by two rooms, and a summer *triclinium* shaded from the sun by a high wall on the south side. The *Casa del Centenario* is one of the houses with the largest number of outlying rooms in Pompei, and differs from the other houses in various details, such as the *piscina* painted with fish, the *lararium* dedicated to the vine-clad Bacchus (p. 120), and the richly decorated *venereum*.

The suburban house of Diomedes lies outside the city walls, and formed part of the *Pagus Augustus Felix*. Its entrance is in the Way of Tombs, and marks the limit of the excavations that have been made in the direction of Herculaneum. From the street a flight of steps

* See the statue on p. 390, Part VI.

† Fiorelli's *Guide*.



Villa of Diomedes

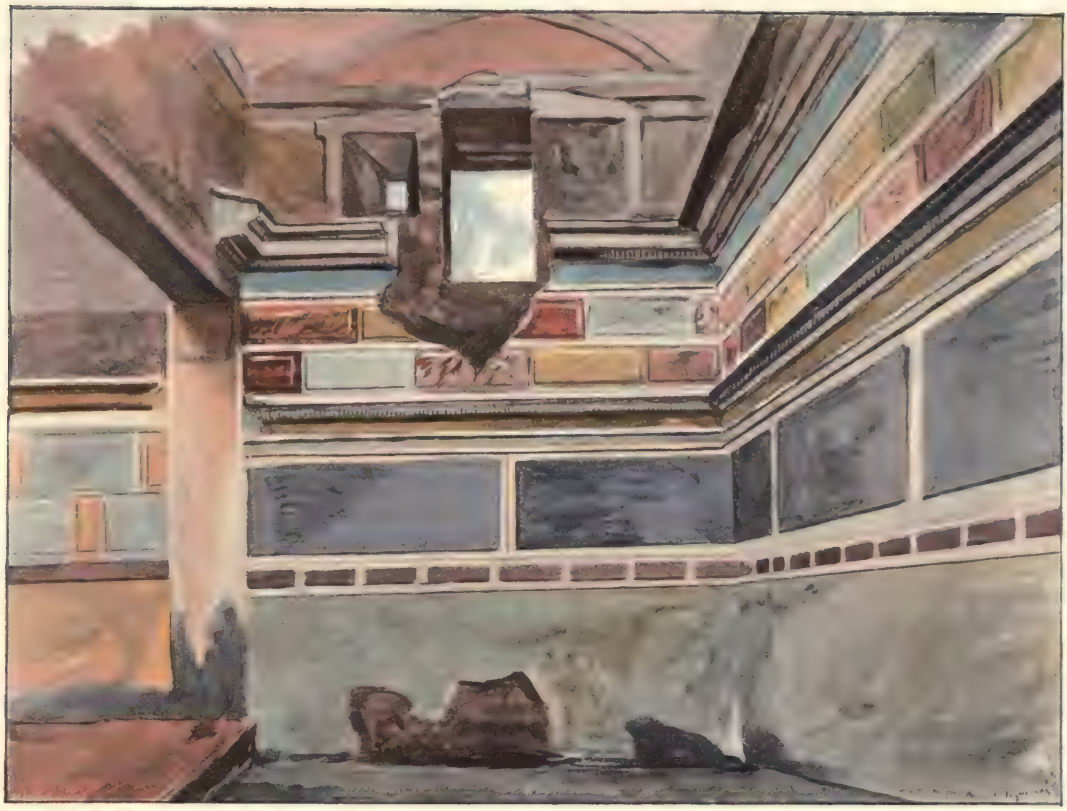
leads to the *peristylium* (or Corinthian *atrium*), according to the custom mentioned by Vitruvius,* who held that a *peristylium* should take the place of the *atrium* in country houses. Beneath the portico is a small *lararium*, which enshrined a statuette of Minerva; to the right of the entrance a staircase leads to the offices and to the garden below. This was surrounded on three sides by a crypto-portico supporting the upper part of the building, which had a terrace.

In the middle of the garden, which extended over a surface of 158 square yards, there is a *piscina* with a water-jet. Behind the basin is a platform, raised above two steps, from which rise six columns. They probably supported a trellis-work, under which the table and couches were placed.

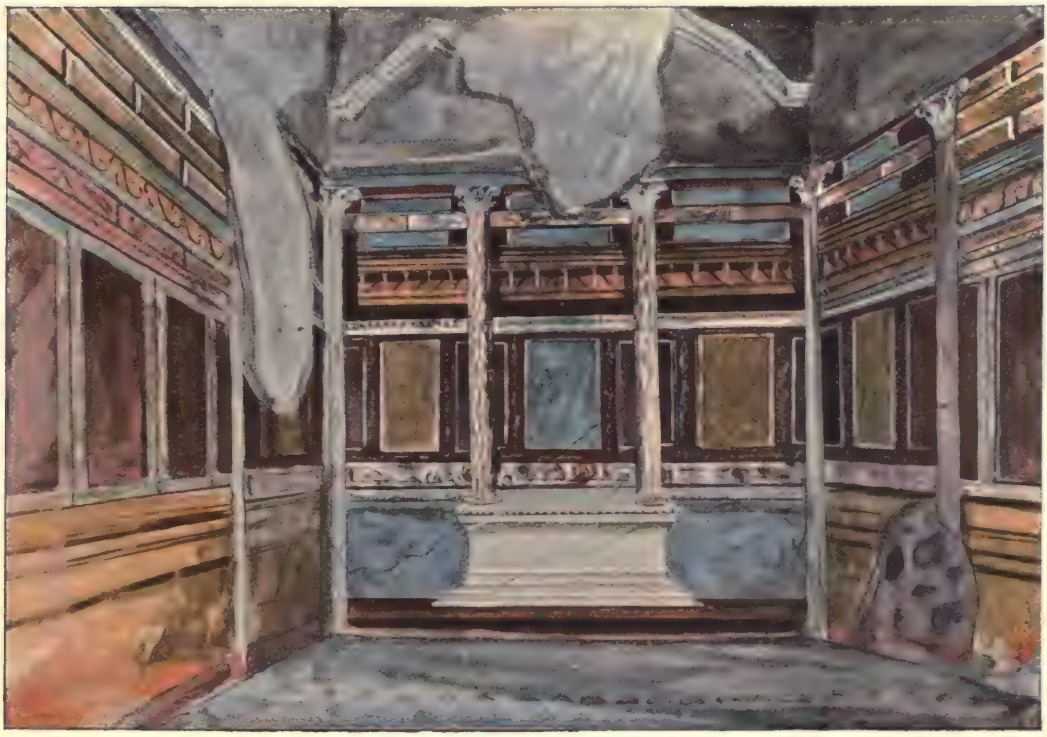
Crypto-portico of the Villa of Diomedes

Among the many rooms of this large villa we should especially notice one where two tables with three couches each could be placed, and where the windows opened like doors to give the guests a view of the garden

* Vitr. VI. viii. Here we find the same confusion between the *atrium* and the *peristylium*.



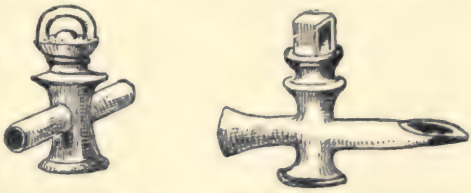
FIRST DECORATIVE STYLE
(CASA DEL CENTAURO)



SECOND DECORATIVE STYLE
(CASA DELLE NOZZE D'ARGENTO)

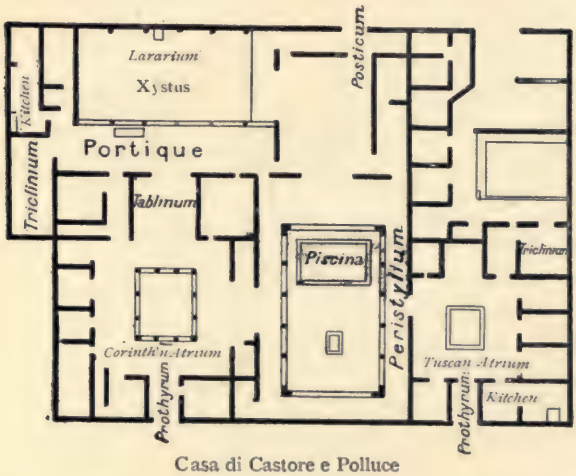
below, and the magnificent panorama of the sea, the coast of Surrentum, and the villas lying at the foot of Vesuvius among the brilliant vine-clad slopes of the mountain.

One very pleasant room, with windows looking out in three different directions, is semicircular in shape; Pliny mentions it in his description of his own villa at Præneste. Two small rooms, in one of which a slave probably slept, are situated in front of a bed-chamber containing, in the rectangular part of the room, an alcove or *zoteca.* It was shut off by curtains hanging from bronze rings, which have been picked up. Against the wall stands a small block of masonry cased in marble, on which phials of cosmetics were found.



Cocks of Water-pipes

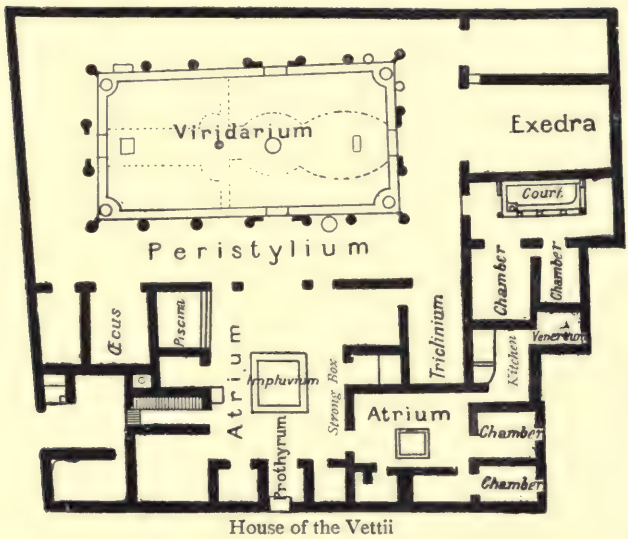
In the cellars of this house a large number of amphoræ were stored in the sand, and the bodies of eighteen persons were found who had fled there for safety. When the house was discovered in 1763, the method of taking casts of bodies had not yet been invented. According to the contemporary accounts of the discovery, the hair, dresses, veils, and shoes could be distinguished, for the fine ashes and water, penetrating into the cellars, had made a mould round the dead bodies, which had remained intact under the shelter of the vaults. All that could be done was to collect the articles of value and jewels, which had been brought there in the hope of saving them, together with provisions to last for several days. Two other skeletons, one holding a key,* the other some




Casa di Castore e Polluce

* Page 17.

money, lay near the gate at the end of the garden, which led to some fields, where traces of ancient furrows have been found. The decoration of the house dates from the time of the early Emperors, before the year 63. The only ground for the name given to the villa is an inscription on a tomb opposite the entrance:

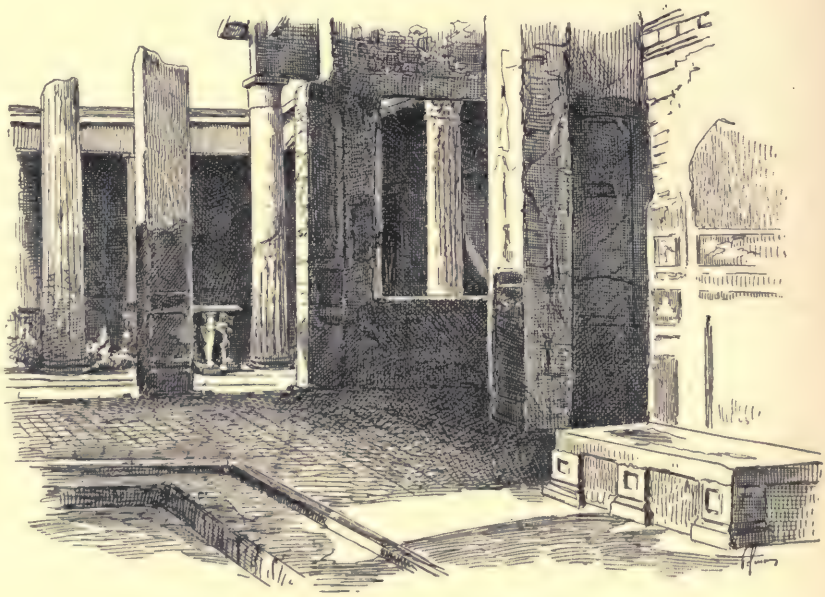



House of the Vettii

M · ARRIVS · I · L · DIOMEDES
SIBI SVIS MEMORIÆ
MAGISTER PAG · AVG · FELIC · SVBVRB ·

"Marcus Arrius Diomedes, freedman of Julia, chief of the Pagus Augustus Felix, to her memory, and to that of his own family."

As the excavations in the suburb have not been continued, the largest house discovered in this quarter has been accepted as the dwelling of the *magister pagi*.



Atrium of the House of the Vettii and Stand for the Strong-box

There are many other interesting houses in Pompei, such as the *Casa dell' Ancora*, the *Casa di Castore e Polluce*, with its two *atria* united by a *peristylium*; the house of Cornelius Rufus, where there is a fine

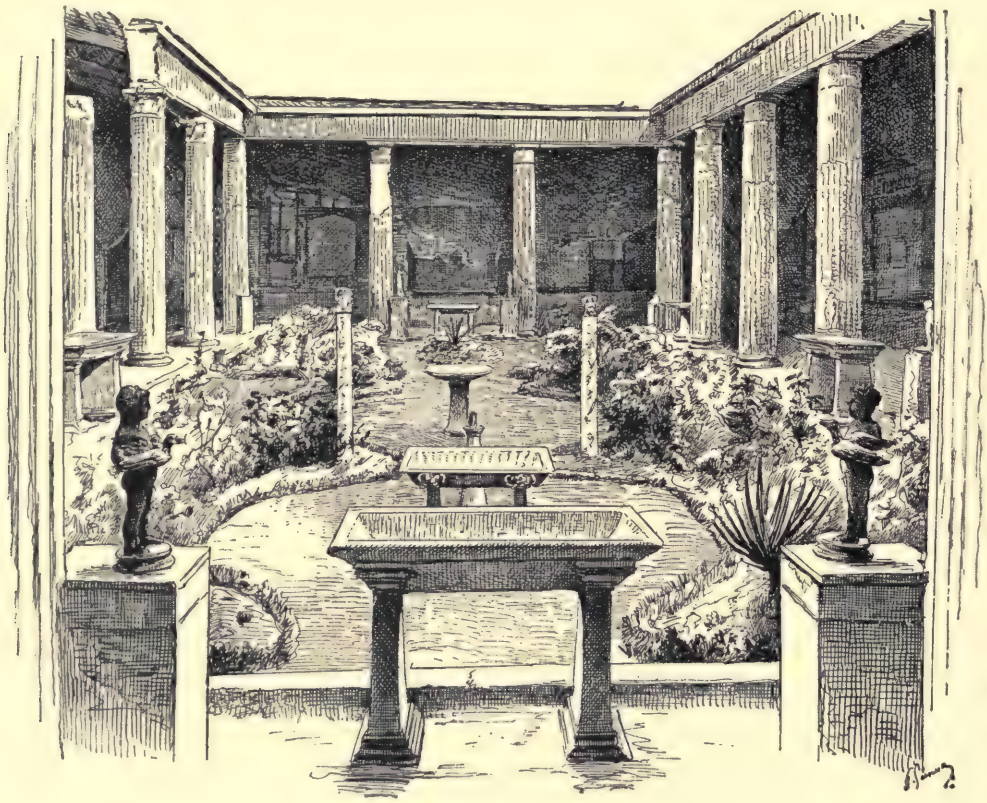
marble *cartibulum* in the *atrium* (see Part VI.); the *Casa del Balcone*, with its basin surmounted by a Cupid; the *House of Jucundus*, with

Interior of the Casa del Balcone

its Egyptian *tablinum* (see coloured plate No. X.); the *Casa di Apollo;* the *Casa di Adone*, with its large painting of the wounded Adonis; and the *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento*, so called in memory of the silver wedding of the King and Queen of Italy.

We have yet to examine two more important houses: the *House of the Vettii* and the *Casa di Meleagro.*

The *House of the Vettii*, which was discovered in 1895, has kept its pictures and marbles, in accordance with the new system which is

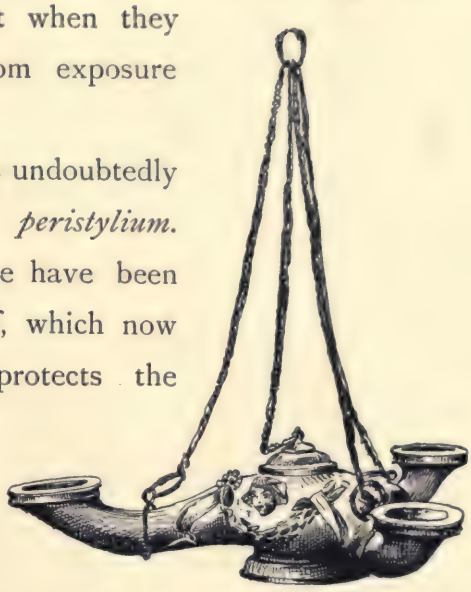


Viridarium of the House of the Vettii

now generally adopted, and the house is almost as it was left by the ancients.

In the entrance of the *prothyrum* there is an obscene painting which may have been intended to ward off the evil eye; it is now hidden by a shutter. Its symbolic meaning seems to be that the wealth of the Vettii was equal to their venal amours, for there is a pair of scales in the picture. On either side of the *Tuscan atrium* stood a strong-box, the fragments of which have been left in their original places and covered with a glass case. There are small rooms on either side of the *prothyrum*, their white walls decorated with paintings of *The Deserted Ariadne*, *Hero and Leander*, and

birds. A third picture is no longer in its place, and nothing remains of it but the iron clamps that fastened it to the wall. It was possibly removed by the ancients, or the picture may have been painted on wood and have perished. There is a similar blank space on the wall of an *exedra* in the same house. The decoration, for the most part, is in the latest Pompeian style, and is still in good preservation; although every year the reds, which were so brilliant when they were first discovered, blacken more from exposure to the air.

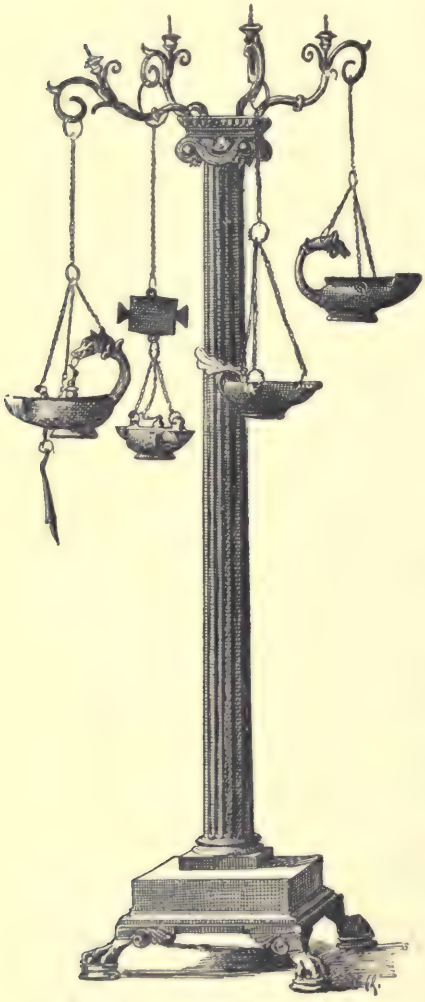


Lamp, Lucerna pensile (Naples Museum)

The pleasantest part of the house is undoubtedly the *viridarium*, in the centre of the *peristylium*. The columns supporting the architecture have been partially completed to support the roof, which now covers the *ambulacrum* again and protects the paintings in the porticoes.

In the *viridarium*, where the marks of the old flower-beds have been discovered, plants and flowers grow as before. Even trails of ivy have been planted, in imitation of the painted ivy on the dadoes of the peristyle. Basins and fonts of pure marble are placed in the winding alleys and among the parterres. Two marble *cippi*, round which are carved tendrils of bindweed, support each a double-fronted term, the finer of which represents Ariadne and a bearded Bacchus. A statuette of an ithyphallic Priapus in the Egyptian style, found on one of the pedestals, is now locked away in the *venereum* of the Vettii, the walls of which are covered with worthless sketches. The other bronze and marble statuettes, representing Bacchus and Silenus, Cupids and *putti* (children), have not been removed from their pedestals. The choked leaden pipes have been repaired, and on certain days the ancient taps and cocks are opened, when the two figures of Eros, in blue bronze with silver eyes, let the

water drip from the beaks of the birds they hold on their arms. The marble basins fill, and the plash of the water gives a touch of life to this fresh and charming spot as the sunlight plays on the transparent marble of the basins.



Bronze Lychnuchus (Naples Museum)

The paintings in the *House of the Vettii* seem, for the most part, as fresh as if they had been finished yesterday, and vivid reds and deep blacks blend harmoniously in the half-light of the *exedra* and the *œci*, which are painted with mythological subjects. Three of these — *Pentheus slain by Bacchantes*, *The Child Hercules strangling the Serpents*, and *The Punishment of Dirce** — decorate one room; Pasiphaë, Ixion, and Ariadne are the chief figures in other groups.

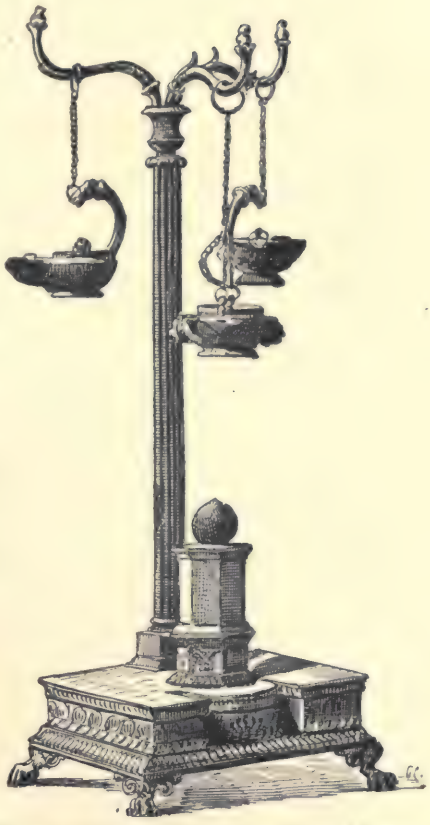
The *exedra*, which lies in the axis of the *viridarium*, is the most richly decorated room in the house. It contains a long frieze, just above the dado, in which Cupids and Psyches are busily engaged on all sorts of tasks, and fair white-winged children are painted in rosy tints on a black ground. The walls are divided into red panels (see coloured plate No. XI.), in the centre of which are linked groups of dancers, surrounded by a broad black space, where carefully painted ornaments of garlands and foliage are wreathed in graceful festoons alive with birds.† A great number of small mythological allegories alternate with the Cupids in the friezes.

The shrine of the Lares (p. 121) stands in a little *atrium* not far from the first *atrium*, near some small apartments and the kitchen, where all the

* Coloured plate No. VIII.

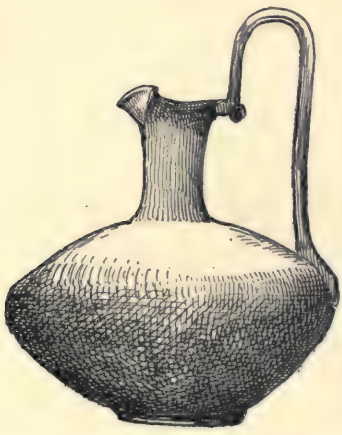
† Coloured plates Nos. V. and XI.

utensils have been left as they were found. A staircase led to the small rooms on the upper floor, which opened into the little *atrium* with the *lararium.* The *House of the Vettii* is a pleasant place to linger in, under the shelter of the *peristylium.* Pictures of ancient life rise before one like a dream, as one watches the green stems of the flowers bent by the wind and breathes the scent of the gardens. In the soft light that filters through the portico the rooms look like dark hollows which throw up the brilliant tones of the sunlit columns shining in the clear light.



Bronze Lamp-stand, Lychnuchus (Naples Museum)

The House of Meleager (*Casa di Meleagro*), which lies at the end of the Street of Mercury close by the city walls, is one of the most magnificent houses in Pompei. It dates from the Samnite period, and was named (without much reason) after a very mediocre picture in the *prothyrum*, representing *Meleager and Atalanta. Mercury offering a Purse to Fortuna* faced it on the opposite wall. The Tuscan *atrium* had some fine paintings, which have been removed to Naples: *Vulcan giving Thetis the Arms of Achilles*, and *Paris and Helen.* Beneath the *cartibulum*, supported by griffins, there is a recess sunk in the floor, and lined with marble, which is supposed to have been used to cool drinks. Owing to the nature of the site, which was rather shallow, the *atrium* on the left opens directly into the *peristylium* by a large bay, formerly closed by a door of two panels,



Bronze Œnochæ (Naples Museum)

each of which was double, and folded back. The threshold, with its bronze fastenings, shows the arrangement. This entrance to the *peristylium* is very rich in effect, and entertainments were evidently often given in this

Bronze Œnochæ

Bronze Vase
(Naples Museum)

Bronze Œnochæ

part of the house. A portico with columns of fluted stucco with red bases surrounds the area of the *peristylium*, in the centre of which is sunk

Lamp, Lucerna pensile (Naples Museum)

Terra-cotta Lamp with three Wicks

a large *piscina* like that in the *Villa of Diomedes*. The sides of this *piscina* are painted blue, and in the centre rises a column with a statuette, from which fell a stream of water. On the side opposite the *œcus* there was a

little cascade of seven marble steps, from the top of which another statuette poured water. In one corner of the garden there is a large terra-cotta jar (*dolium*) filled with lime, probably a vase in which a palm-tree was once planted.*

The *Corinthian œcus* is in a line with the *peristylium*. Its columns are of the Corinthian order, united by semicircular arches, and supported a terrace which is no longer in existence. The *œcus* is decorated in monochrome, and painted yellow in imitation of gilded panelling, for, according to Pliny, walls were gilded as well as vases. The columns, the walls, the fantastic architectural ornament and mythological subjects, are all carried out in yellow *camaïeu*. The dado is in red *camaïeu*, painted with figures of Fauns. The illusion of a gilded chamber must have been complete when the *œcus* was illuminated for entertainments.

On the left side of the *Corinthian œcus* there is a second and smaller *œcus*, opening directly on to the *peristylium*, paved with mosaic, and decorated with brilliant paintings in black, red, and blue. A small door leads from it into an immense winter *triclinium* lighted by round-headed windows set high in the wall. One of these looks into the smaller *œcus*, which must have been a room where the guests met and talked before and after meals (corresponding to a "smoking-room" in a modern house). From the *peristylium* an arched door led to the *triclinium* with its black dado painted with naiads surrounded by irises. On the walls are large compositions, such as *The Judgment of Paris*, where Helen gives a helmet to her lover, *Achilles in his Tent urged to fight by the Greeks*, and others. Fourteen silver table utensils were found in the house—two-handled vessels ornamented with bas-reliefs—bowls, strainers, &c., all costly objects like those found at Bosco Reale.

* See painting in the Egyptian style in Part VI. Suetonius speaks of a palm that Augustus grew in a *compluvium*. (Suetonius, *Aug.*)

# VII

## THE COSTUME OF THE MEN AND WOMEN

COSTUME is the index of a period, the "brief chronicle" of the times, varying with varying latitudes, for Africans cannot dress like Esquimaux. In the temperate and pleasant climate of Pompei the lightest dress was naturally the most popular, and the most beautiful robe was the simplest, the one that most closely followed the lines of the body. Delicate and fanciful stuffs, draped by graceful movement, caressed the body, which, now veiled, now hidden, and now divined, was expressed by a fold. Such a dress could be thrown aside in a moment to show the naked beauty of the form; thus was the artistic imagination of the Greeks moved by the sight of Phryne when she showed herself in the Areopagus and on the beach of Eleusis. The people of Pompei had inherited the Greek tradition, and modesty with them is not to be measured by our modern standards.

Woman at her Toilette (Painting in the Casa di Trittolemo)

Box for Paint. (Naples Museum)

Curling Iron

The cowl does not make the monk, and nudity is not necessarily immodesty. The nude may be chaste, and dress can be indecent; all depends upon the intention.

The minor details of the costumes we have already noted may now give us a more definite idea of the Pompeians, and make us better acquainted with them.

Box of Paint (Naples Museum)

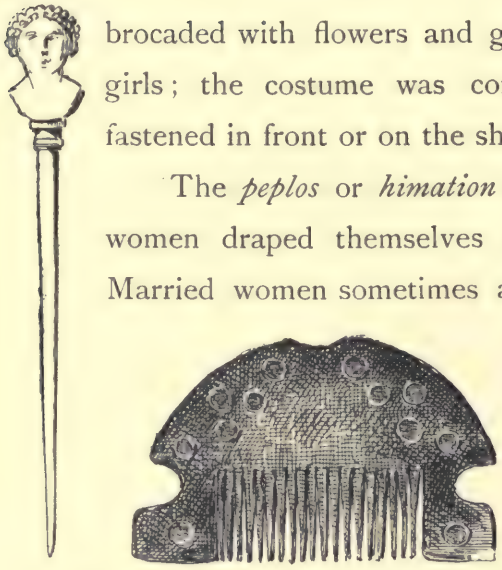
The women prepared their borrowed charms in their dressing-rooms, "remote from witnesses," as Ovid writes. They did not wear stays, but their breasts were bound by the *fascia;* the face was painted and dyes were used, and a few patches, artistically disposed, gave brilliance to the complexion. The hair was dressed in a variety of ways and curled with irons; it hung on the shoulders, or was bound up in a knot like Diana's. Combs were made of boxwood or ivory; tortoiseshell combs were used as ornaments, and also hairpins decorated with Loves, small Venuses, and birds. Diadems of pearls and gold were also worn, and a net sometimes covered the hair. Ear-rings of gold, pearls, or coral; a great variety of bracelets and necklaces, of filigree work, leaves of chased gold, serpents set with precious stones, &c., gave the finishing-touch to the toilette.

Woman wearing the *fascia* (fragment of a Painting in the Casa del Centenario)

The tunic with small folds was woven of silk, wool, or other materials, and made in all colours—sea-green, azure blue, saffron yellow, carnation, and purple. But the poet of the *Art of Love* warns women that the same colours are not becoming to every one, and that women of taste are known by the harmonious colours of the stuffs they wear.

Bronze Mirror (Naples Museum)

The tunic was cut out at the top, showing the neck and shoulders and the upper part of the breast. Long robes trailing on the ground were worn, more especially by women of rank and fashion. The *patagiata*, or tunic



Ivory Pin and Hair Comb (Naples Museum)

brocaded with flowers and gold, was worn by young women and girls; the costume was completed by the *chlamys*, which was fastened in front or on the shoulder by a cameo or a golden brooch.

The *peplos* or *himation* was often bordered by a pattern, and women draped themselves entirely in it when they went out. Married women sometimes also wore a transparent veil. Shoes were made of various colours and materials; some of those found in Pompei are made of grass fibre (*baxea*), but the favourite colour for slippers was white, according to Martial. Thus attired, and carrying a *flagellum*, the women of Pompei were dressed and ready to enter their litters.

Gold Ornaments (Naples Museum)

If the women of the ancient world used every art to add to their charms, there were many young men at Pompei who outdid them in effeminacy. They often wore the yellow *crocota*, the dress of the women. Their hair shone, they were bathed in perfumes and dressed in purple; they affected a languid air, walked with their chests well forward, and had all the hair removed from their legs.*

The *laticlavus* or *angusticlavus*, a tunic hanging loosely over the girdle,

* Martial.

and reaching only to the knee, was a very useful dress. There were two parallel scarlet stripes on the back and front, which may be seen in several

Bronze Candlestick (Naples Museum)

Woman with a Veil (Painting in the House of Lucretius)

of our illustrations.* The *laticlavus*, worn by men of higher rank, differed from the *angusticlavus* only in having a broader scarlet stripe.

The full and heavy *toga* was too cumbrous for ordinary use, and the *lacerna*, a smaller form of the *toga*, often replaced it. The *pallium*, which corresponded to the *himation* of the women, was very popular, and was sometimes worn as the only garment. In a terra-cotta statue in Part VI. the drapery of the *pallium* shows off to perfection the graceful figure of the *ephebus* who wears it.

Ivory Comb (Naples Museum)

Woollen garments must have been largely worn in Pompei, for the fullers, who cleaned them, were very numerous, and formed a prosperous guild.

* Sometimes these bands were blue.

# VIII

## FOOD AND MEALS

IN the kitchens of Pompei the food was cooked, under the protection of the goddess Fornax, in saucepans and stewpans over a slow fire, or on gridirons. Eggs were placed in a dish especially made for them. The pies browned in the oven were made in a variety of picturesque shapes, as we know from the moulds of pigs and hares and a chicken that have been found in the city. Shells were also frequently imitated in pastry, which reminds us that real shells were the first moulds.

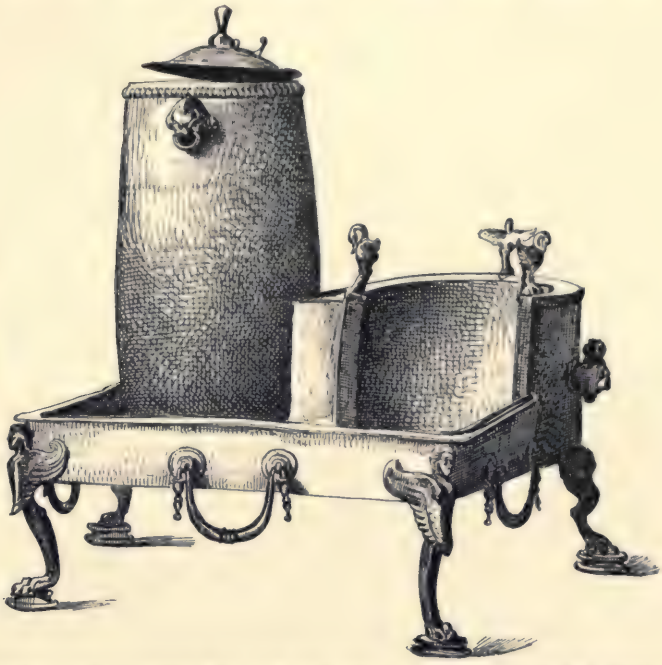
A large quantity of provisions have been found in the city, and are now shown under glass cases in the museums of Naples and Pompei. There are small beans, corn, olives, raspberries, figs, dates, walnuts, eggs, hazel-nuts, loaves, a biscuit in the shape of a ring (the Neapolitan *tarallo*), grapes, pears, plums, kidney-beans, almonds, onions, the remains of fish, pastry, chicken-bones, olives in glass amphoræ filled with oil, meat in a bronze saucepan, honey (?), and caviare. Rushes for casing bottles (like the Italian *fiasco*), snail-shells, oysters, and other shell-fish were also discovered. Amphoræ, inscribed with the word *Mulsum* (wine mixed with honey), have been preserved. A liquid, which was no doubt delicious, is labelled *Liquamen optimum* on the vessel containing it, but its exact nature is not known. Perhaps it was the best quality of *garum*,* for garum was also called *liquamen*.†

* *Garum* was a highly-seasoned fish sauce.

† Martial gives a "menu" of his own composition: "Without forgetting the herb which spurs to love, there will be slices of egg round a dish of eels larded with rue, and the teats of a sow

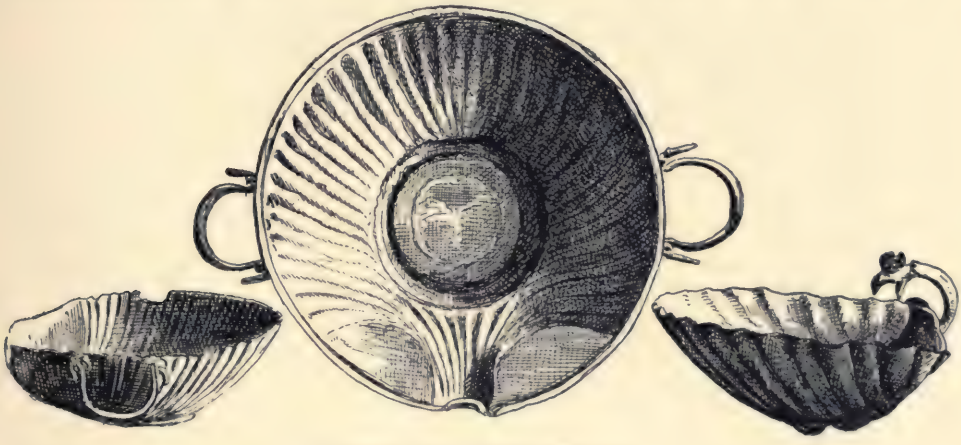
Before a dinner the couches were set ready in the *œcus* reserved

Bronze Kettle (Naples Museum)



Bronze Stove with a Reservoir for Hot Water, and a Bain-Marie (Naples Museum)

for entertainments, and the table was loaded with silver plate. The



Moulds for Pastry (Naples Museum)

master of the house offered a libation to the gods before the meal

sprinkled with the brine from a tunny—but they are only to whet the appetite. Next comes a kid, which is a course by itself, and savoury stews that require no carver, beans, and dwarf cabbages, a chicken and a ham. For dessert, fruit and Nomentanum wine." (The ancients began their dinner with eggs and finished with fruit.)

began, and during the dinner the guests reclined on one elbow and watched the buffooneries of dwarfs, who played the part of jesters.*

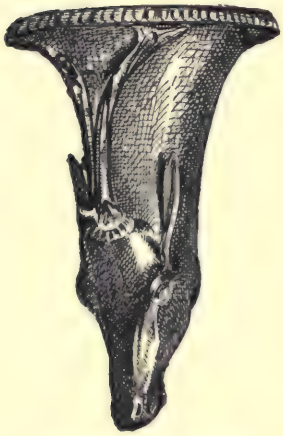
Bacchic Dance (Painting in the Casa del Centenario)

Canephoros

Dancing-girl

(Paintings in the Naples Museum)

In earlier times men ate their meals reclining, while the women



Rhyton (Naples Museum)

A Meal. A Painting from Herculaneum (Naples Museum)

sat; but in the later period, when manners became laxer, men and women reclined on the same couch, as shown in several paintings, among others in three small and very mediocre subjects found in a dining-room. The first

* Valerius Maximus II. 1.

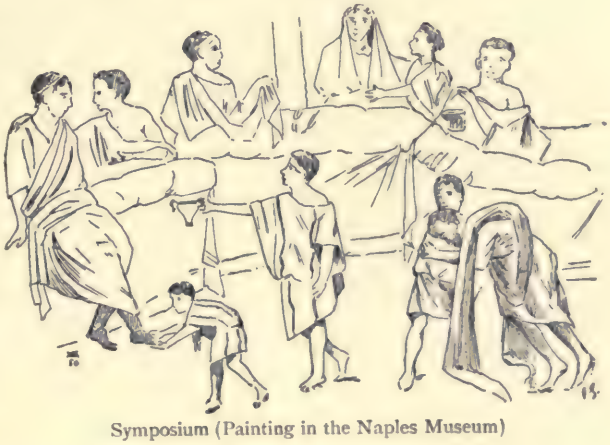
of these represents the meal itself. The table is surrounded by couches, and the guests are on extremely intimate terms: some are embracing, and one woman holds up a *rhyton* and pours out a stream of wine. Above is written: "*Facitis vobis suaviter — ego canto — est ita valeas.*" The central person is singing, while the rest are enjoying themselves.

Symposium (Painting in the Naples Museum)

Symposium (Painting in the Naples Museum)

In the second picture, which is in very bad preservation, a naked woman dances before the guests to the sound of flutes played by *tibicenes* seated on the floor. Wine flows freely, and one of the guests claps his hands.

The third picture illustrates the end of the *symposium*,* when the table is removed, and the guests are the worse for wine. One drunken man is propped up by a slave; another is having his shoes put on, while a cup-bearer offers him yet another cup of wine.



Symposium (Painting in the Naples Museum)

* Symposium—*i.e.* "drinking-entertainment."

Kitchen Utensils

Dish for Eggs, Moulds for Pastry, Spoons, Strainers, Knives, Fire-dog, Saucepan, Kettle (Naples Museum)

At the end of the feast vessels ornamented with skeletons were passed

Dancers (Painting in the House of Holconius)

from hand to hand among the guests, to remind them to enjoy life, since they know not what the morrow might bring. Many of the Pompeian *triclinia* have mosaics, in the centre of which is a skeleton or a skull, to suggest the same idea.*

Silver Vase (Treasure from Bosco Reale)
(The Louvre)

Many paintings in Pompei represent dancers in various postures, waving scarves, or *thyrsi* wreathed with flowers, or carrying *cistæ* (caskets) or *œnochoæ*. One is a group of two women dancing, wearing robes as transparent "as if they were woven of air" —the "*coa vestis.*" Other dancers enact the mysteries of Bacchus, with straining breast and head thrown back, as though faint with ecstasy from the ardour of the god.

* An epigram in the Anthology explains the meaning and the moral of these representations of Death: "Ay, this is life, and 'tis nought but pleasure. Throw aside all care! The life of man is so short! Bring wine at once, and dancers and crowns of flowers, and women! Let us enjoy to-day, for who can count on the morrow?"

Dances, varied by amorous embraces, were also performed by the guests themselves; and Horace* upbraids the Romans in this connection as follows: "The young girl joys to learn the voluptuous dances of Ionia, she bends her supple limbs in the dance, and from her earliest years dreams of forbidden loves."†

Certainly Pompeian manners were not rigid, and youth must have been precocious under the *ægis* of Venus Physica.

* Horace, Ode III. 4.

† There were also dancing-schools, and Macrobius says that he saw boys and girls performing obscene dances in these places.

# PART VI

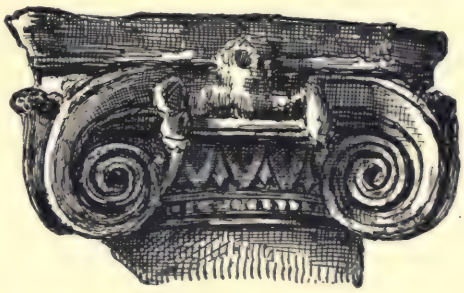
## THE ARTS

# ARCHITECTURE

## THE ORDERS—COLUMNS AND CAPITALS—VAULTS AND BUILDING MATERIALS

LET us take a rapid survey of the different periods, from the Greek epoch to the last days of Pompei. It will suffice to examine the columns and capitals, which are still in excellent preservation.

The ancient Greek Doric is represented in the first place by the remains of the old Greek temple, known as the Temple of Hercules (sixth or fifth century B.C.). The few capitals that rest on the floor of the *cella* resemble those of Pæstum (see p. 64). They were covered with a layer of stucco, applied in order to fill up the pores of the tufa, of which both capitals and shafts were made. These columns were of the Samnite period (Greek Doric or Ionic). The capitals were no doubt polychrome, for the terra-cotta gargoyles of this temple show traces of colour.



Tufa Capital in the Basilica

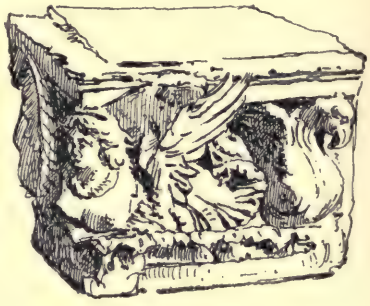
The colonnade of the Triangular Forum is also of the Greek Doric order, but the columns are small. Next come the peristyle of the *palæstra*, the columns of which are more slender and have no bases, and the columns of the gladiatorial barracks, which are also of tufa overlaid with stucco. The capitals were polychrome, and the shafts, painted red at their bases, were originally fluted, but were filled in at a later period. This, as

we know, was a modification undergone by many ancient fluted columns.

The columns of the civil Forum, originally of tufa and of the Greek Doric order, were replaced after the year 63 along one whole side by unfluted travertine columns of the Roman Doric order.

Marble Capital

The Ionic order at Pompei must have been used towards the beginning of the fourth century B.C., and the capitals have much in common with those of the monuments of Asia Minor and of Sicily. The slender columns, with narrow flutings rest on *Attic* bases—bases, that is to say, formed of a torus next to the ground, two fillets, and a scotia surmounted by a narrower torus.



Marble Capital

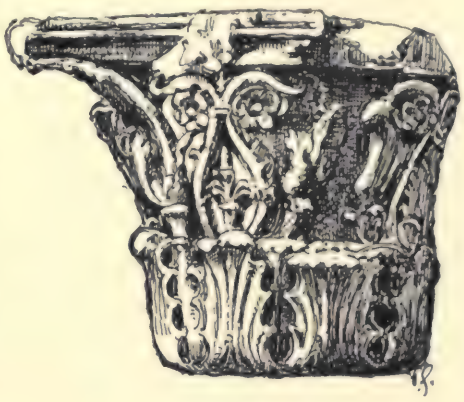
Save in the case of the interior colonnade of the Temple of Jupiter, the Ionic capitals of Pompei are alike on all four sides, and, as a rule, were faced with stucco and coloured. The white ovoloes were relieved against a red or yellow ground, above which was painted a blue fillet, which often took the proportions of a large ring. Below the ovolo two red bands or fillets encircled the upper part of the column.

Marble Capital

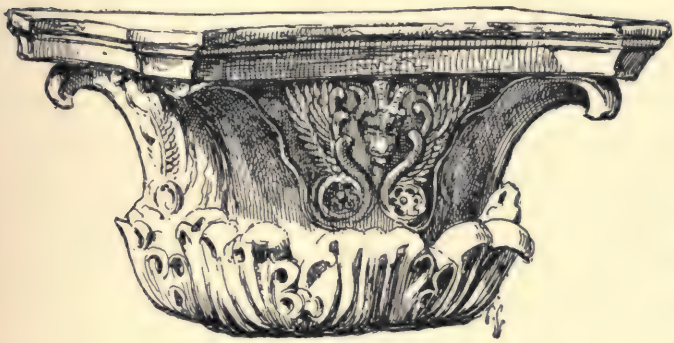
The Corinthian order was often employed at Pompei, and is to be seen in the temples and in certain private houses, as, for example, the *Case del Fauno, delle Nozze d'Argento,* and *di Meleagro.* There were also capitals with figures of a pronounced Etruscan type, like those in the Temple of Zeus Meilichios, the most archaic sanctuary of Pompei, and those in a house called therefrom the *Casa dei Capitelli figurati.* Then there were others placed on

pilasters in angles, carved with sirens and chimæras. Several capitals recall the models of Eleusis and Pergamum, and of the Augusteum of Ancyra.

The fancy capitals have nearly all the elements of the Corinthian order, as have also those of white or polychrome stucco with the acanthus leaf. But in stucco it was not possible to give much relief to the small ribs and volutes; these capitals, therefore, are not very complicated in design, though colour gave them a gay and pleasing appearance. The intrinsic interest of the numerous stucco capitals is not very great, but they give us yet another opportunity of noting the manifestation of Egyptian influence. A typical example of this influence is to be found in the colonnade of the *palæstra* of the Stabian Thermæ.



Marble Capital



Marble Capital

The configuration of the column and the red, blue, and yellow ornament of the white stucco capital certainly betray the spirit of Alexandria.

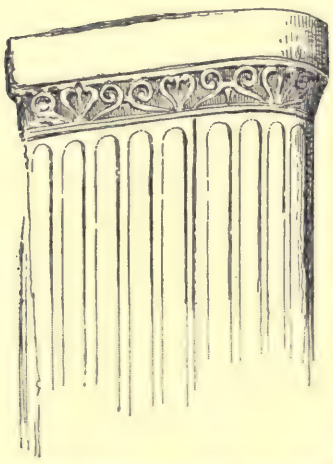
There is yet another category of columns of the Roman Doric order made of brick coated with stucco, and either fluted or plain; these are more frequent than any others at Pompei. This style was inexpensive; the capitals are simple; they have red and blue fillets, and the upper part of the column is ornamented with a band of red. This

Marble Capital

colour is nearly always repeated on the base, covering about a third of its height.

Finally, there are a few specimens of pentagonal columns which apparently date from the period of the first Emperors, for the decoration on them is that in vogue at that period.

As to the round-headed arch, it is rarely used in the temples save in a few apses and in monuments of the latest period, such as the Temple of Fortune, the Curia, the Temple of Vespasian, the Building of Eumachia, the baths, the theatres, and the amphitheatre; on the other hand, it is very frequent in the parts of the town overlooking the valley of the Sarnus, where wealthy Romans spent the summer season. In the interior of the town, too, we find a large number of vaulted rooms, and even an arcaded peristyle in a house of the *Vico di Tesmo;* but the round arch existed at Pompei before the Roman occupation, and certain rooms of the Oscan period have ribbed vaults.



Stucco Capital in the Egyptian Style

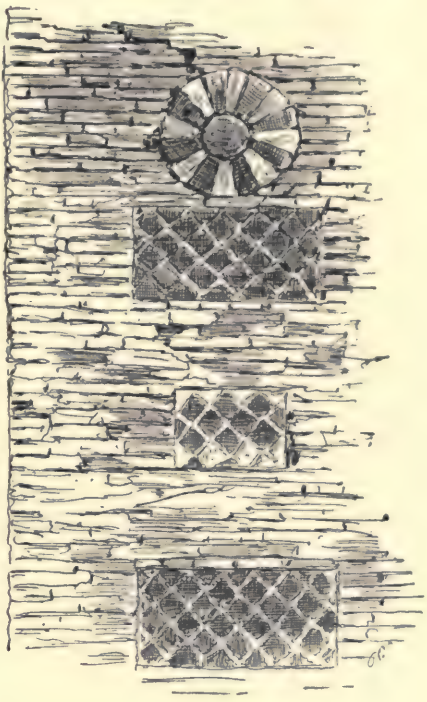
The triumphal arches of the Forum and of the Gate of Herculaneum are Roman works, built in honour of the Emperors; but the Gates of Stabiæ, of the Seashore, and of Nola appear to be of Samnite foundation. They were restored under the Romans, together with the towers of the ramparts.

It may be useful to note that most of the Pompeian buildings are in *opus incertum,* with certain portions in *opus reticulatum.* The materials used were brick, volcanic and ferruginous *scoriæ,* and the fine, compact pumice-stone, black or grey, known to Vitruvius, to which Mazois gives the name of *pumex pompeianus.*

Tufa, lava with black specks, and *piperno* were also used at Pompei for the principal walls, especially in the earlier period. Certain houses built with these materials still give to the streets in which they are found much

the aspect they must have had before the year 63. Travertine, another material used, was employed more especially under the Romans for the reconstruction of the Forum.

Marble was used to face certain buildings of the latest period, and also served for Corinthian capitals, for the bases of statues, and for many of the mosaic pavements. Iron seems certainly to have been introduced in some buildings, for Orelli gives a Roman inscription in which mention is made of a vaulted roof of iron and glass, *concammeratio ferrea et vitrea.*



Opus Reticulatum

As to the mortar of the Pompeians, connoisseurs assure us that it had not the durable qualities of that which has so triumphantly stood the test of centuries in the great Roman monuments. It has suffered from the action of the hot ashes and of entombment; on the other hand, the vaulted portions and the stucco facings have nearly all withstood innumerable vicissitudes.

# PAINTING

## I

MURAL DECORATION—THE FOUR PERIODS: PRE-ROMAN STYLE, STYLE OF THE REPUBLIC, STYLE OF THE FIRST EMPERORS, STYLE OF THE LAST PERIOD—THE CANDELABRUM VARIETY—THE EGYPTIAN VARIETY—ASIATIC INFLUENCE

WE may begin our study of the various styles of painting with the decoration of the rooms themselves. These afford the most precious indications of the development of decorative art from the Samnite period onwards, for the Greek, the Alexandrian, and the Roman taste prevailed in turn. Although in a general way the Pompeian style has become familiar to us in its gamut of colour, it embraces varieties of ornamentation as distinct one from another as the several French styles.

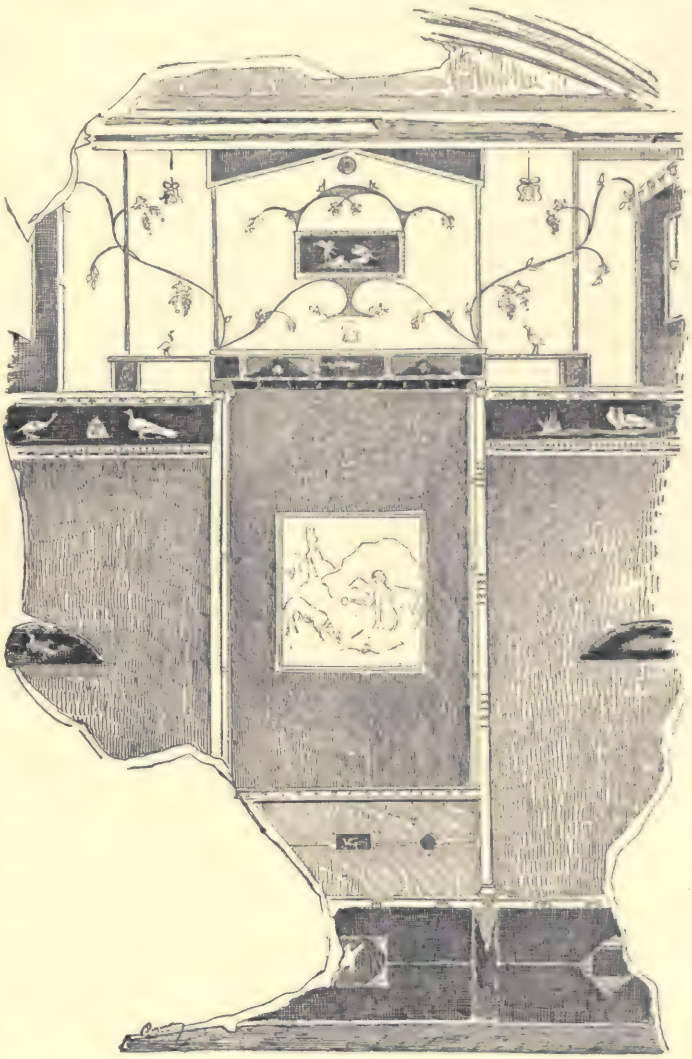
The German Professor, August Mau, with that conscientious precision which his profound knowledge of Pompei ensures, has classified the decorative art of Pompei in four epochs, represented by as many styles.*

First Style.—The Pre-Roman or Græco-Samnite period (second century? to the year 80 B.C.) is represented by the so-called Incrustation Style, characterised by the imitation of marble in polychrome stucco, the colours being ingrained in the stucco plaster.

Rectangles made in this manner reproduce in relief the carved ornament of dressed stone walls, and pilasters were added in the stucco to

* *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*, with a map and coloured plates.

break the monotony of wide surfaces. Denticulated cornices run parallel with the friezes, and large plain panels are subdivided into smaller panels, always in relief. Yellow, pink, and green are the dominant colours in these imitation marbles, combined with a great variety of other tints in the veinings. The principal panels are generally black, and the white cornices often rest on a blue fillet (see coloured plate No. IX. 1). The colours used in this type of decoration seem to have been applied on the wet plaster: *a fresca*. Figure-painting was not introduced in rooms decorated in this style, but mosaic was lavishly used for the flooring of houses of this period — *e.g. the House of the Faun, the House of Sallust*, &c.



Decoration: Third Style, Black Dado; Red Panels; White, Red and Black Frieze (Region IX. Insula VII.)

Second Style.—This style, less general at Pompei than at Rome, flourished under the Republic. It was based on the first manner, which it followed as regards the division of the panels, but both these themselves and the architectonic details in relief disappear to make way for painted simulacra. It was a more acute development of the system of illusory decoration; for whereas the First Style imitated

coloured marble in reliefs of stucco, the Second Style imitated these reliefs in their turn.

Attempts were now made with occasional lines in perspective to give relief to simulated projections, which received touches of light colour. Shadows, timidly applied at first, help to produce the effect of solid ornamentation. Cornices in relief were, however, retained; but they project less, and are placed higher, at the spring of the arch. Decorated with motives in polychrome, they continue to be employed.

Panels are divided by simulated painted columns, Ionic or Corinthian, supporting a painted architrave; but, on the principal wall of a room, the two central columns always rest on a large base, which unites them (see coloured plate No. IX. 2). This style of decoration seems to have been carried out in *tempera*. Towards the close of this period the central columns are crowned by a pediment, and the space thus enframed is painted with figures and landscapes. Greek and Egyptian motives are blended; the columns are Egyptian, and many of the details are Hellenistic; the combination of the two elements is manifest. The Egyptian element gradually becomes more pronounced, resulting in a special variety of the Third Style.

Third Style.—The Third Style, or Style of the First Emperors, is characterised by a system of delicate and patient decoration, the small white columns of which have green shadows. The dadoes are coloured purplish-brown, with bands of pale green. The columns which support pediments are more slender, and are double; often, too, they are used as isolated ornaments, and take the form of candelabra. This peculiarity is the note of a variety of the Third Style, which Professor Mau has christened the Style of the Candelabrum; it marks the transition from the Second to the Third Style.

This new ornament underwent a great variety of modifications. Sometimes it is a simple column supporting a *cantharus*, a bird, a disc; sometimes it is an actual candelabrum; sometimes again it consists merely of two interlaced spirals, terminating in a rosette; very often it recalls a

trophy, and here perhaps we have its true origin. Other varieties are graceful little columns decorated with delicate tendrils connected by fillets and outlined with foliage; balusters, crowns, rings, and discs are superposed and combined, sometimes with very graceful results.

The candelabrum had also an Egyptian cast; the details were then symmetrically disposed scales or leaves, recalling those of fir-cones or the trunks of palm-trees; it was even covered with spines, and then it rose into a dense pyramid of verdure, interspersed with ornaments and peopled by birds. This candelabrum often retains its pyramidal shape in the last style.

The Egyptian variety of the Third Style is one of the most delicate to be found in Pompei, very harmonious in colour, and rich and elaborate in ornament. The little white columns, the sphinxes and winged animals that inhabit the various decorative details, the lotus flowers and Egyptian vases, the masks, cups, and trinkets hanging from slender gold chains, all arranged with great taste, give a peculiar elegance to this special style (see coloured plate No. X.). Even the rectangular lines enframing a panel are curved or made sinuous, foreshadowing the ornamental forms of later date.

Candelabrum Motives in Decoration

In this Style of the First Emperors we often see slender columns surmounted by little architraves, simulating the perspective of a portico, the base of which is unseen, being hidden by the strongly coloured foreground,

which often represents a dado ornamented with mouldings or a decorative frieze. This novel arrangement completes, as it were, the illusory movement in Pompeian decoration, which is no longer content with a few vanishing lines in the foreground. These have been replaced by architectonic silhouettes, melting into a light background, and giving the impres-

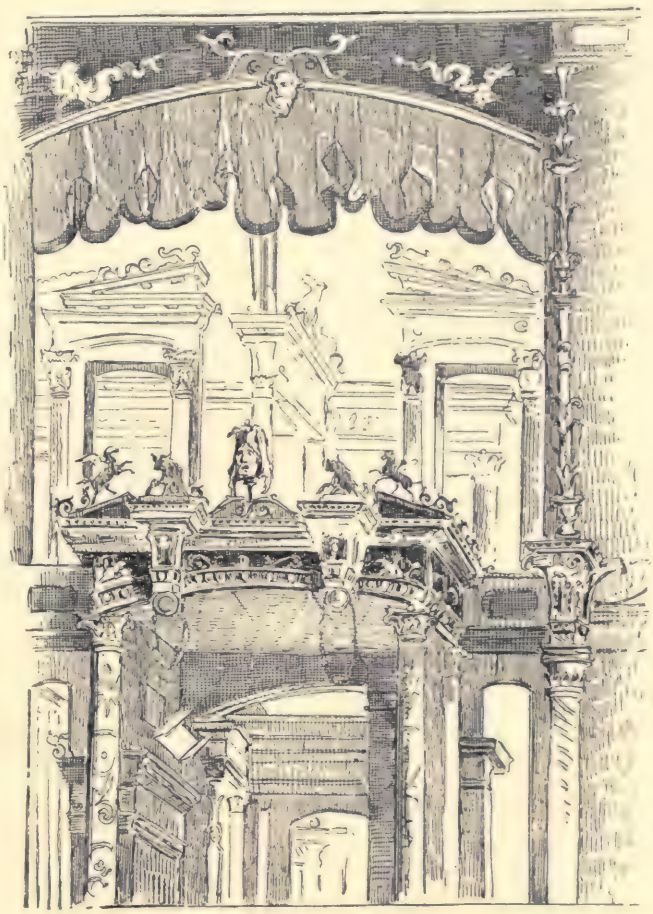
Œcus with White Decoration (Fourth Style, A.D. 63)

sion of a peristyle seen through a window; the air seems to penetrate into a room thus decorated, extending its limits, and the eye seems to lose itself in the spacious distances of some inner court. This decorative system, known as the Architectural Style, reached its highest development in the last days of Pompei, especially in the years after 63 A.D.

Fourth Style.—This last style is naturally the one of which there are most specimens, for when houses were restored after the earthquake of 63 A.D. they were decorated in the taste of the day. For this reason the last manner is too generally accepted as the sole characteristic Pompeian style. It is akin to the second, inasmuch as it brought the imitation of architecture into favour once more. But often at this period the decoration

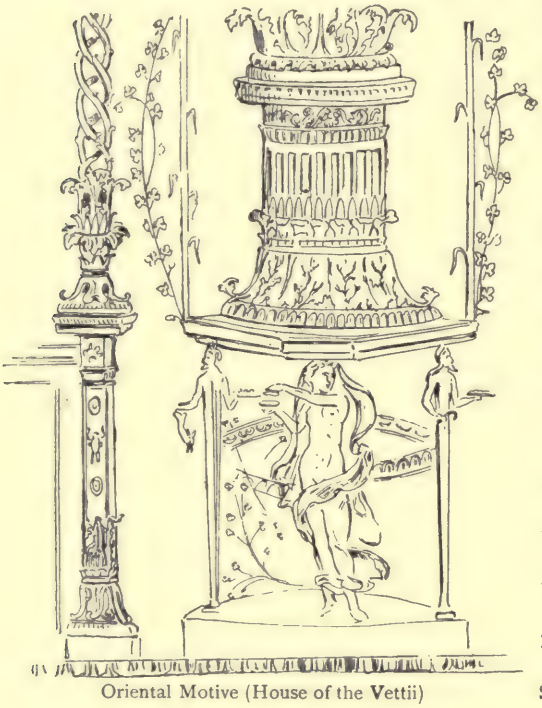
is overloaded with ornament; the rectangles are bordered with arabesques, a sure sign of the Fourth Style. The colours, though brilliant, are on the whole less harmonious, and the ornament, though richer, is less delicate.

The general effect is decorative, but pompous; it even becomes theatrical and meretricious when baldaquins and curtains are introduced; the slender columns, often overnumerous, rise as if made of iron or of reeds. A fantastic architecture is created, and imagination runs riot: elephants support the columns, horses mount the pedestals, bulls, tritons, and dragons crown the buildings; incoherence and extravagance can go no farther. But in its more chastened aspects this style, too, has its qualities. The distant perspective of elaborate imaginary porticoes melts away into the soft gradation of tints already indicated in the Second Style. Occasionally (as in the *House of the Vettii*) it shows a sense of decorative arrangement worthy of the third period, together with much careful detail. We find figures silhouetted against simulated bays; women and servants enter through half-open doors and come down flights of steps bearing ewers and baskets filled with fruit; musicians, placed in the friezes at the top of the wall, mingle with Fauns and Bacchantes in an interminable saraband



Decoration, Fourth Style (Naples Museum)

beneath airy colonnades. The composition is always ingenious, and, in spite of the complexity of the lines, it is carried out with such ease, the skill of the artist masks its faults so gracefully, that, notwithstanding its want of balance, this style, seen beneath its native sky, competes not unworthily with its predecessors.



Oriental Motive (House of the Vettii)

The *œcus*, the *exedra*, the *tablinum*, the *peristylium*, and the *atrium* were the parts of the house for which the best compositions were reserved.

One single style obtains in certain houses, as in that of the Faun, which is of the first period; but in the last two periods this was by no means the rule. As to the Egyptian style, it was confined to a single room of the house, bedchamber, *tablinum*, or *œcus;* for, said Vitruvius, there should be an Egyptian room in every well-arranged house. The Romans followed a fashion in this respect, and it was considered in good taste to have an Egyptian room, as in our times it was thought original to have a Japanese or Turkish room.

The application of these various styles results in the most unexpected contrasts between rooms in the same house. Thus, in the *Casa del Centenario*, we are struck by the juxtaposition of two *œci*, one with a black, the other with a white background. The latter is marked by an elegance and a delicacy of detail which recall the French art of the middle of the eighteenth century. This is not surprising when we remember that the successive discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompei between 1711 and 1738 had an influence on the decorative art of the period which has not been sufficiently recognised.

Next we come on red and yellow panels with black dadoes ornamented with green plants and flowers at the base, as if the damp has caused them to spring up from the mosaic floor. There are also red panels enframed in black, black or blue rectangles surrounded by brilliant red; even green and white walls with red dadoes; blue panels with brown dadoes; yellow and white, and blue and white walls; in fact, there was no rule in this respect; individual taste and preference decided the matter, especially in the last two periods.

Oriental Motive (House of the Vettii)

In addition to the motives characteristically Hellenistic and Egyptian, another influence makes itself felt at Pompei. Without pressing the point unduly, I would note the presence of Persian or Asiatic feeling.

We read in Strabo that many houses on the shores of the Bay of Naples were built on the model of the Persian royal dwellings. As far as we know, none of this special Oriental architecture has survived; but we find traces of the Asiatic spirit in the decorative paintings of the last period.

Without going back to remote antiquity, we may note that Alexander, in his victorious progress in Asia, went as far as the Indus, that he descended the river with his army to its mouth, and revisited Persepolis and Susa, which he had conquered. His officers, following his example, married Asiatic wives, and his general Ptolemy afterwards became the ruler of Egypt. It was natural, therefore, that his soldiers and their chiefs should have returned haunted by memories of the glittering splendours of Asia; they must have brought with them something of that exotic taste which found such favour in Alexandria, the

most luxurious city of its age. Besides, there were certain important towns of Asia Minor which had imbibed the art of Persia, and from these something of its spirit may have passed to Pompei. Mau instances Antioch.

This Asiatic element, combined with that derived from the Greeks and mitigated by that native to Egypt, formed a new manner. The amalgam, I think, produced that decorative Alexandrian style which, interpreted by the Romans, became the Augustan style.

Mosaic Column (Naples Museum)

Thus on the walls of Pompei we may trace—here perforce summarily —the presence of certain decorative details that are neither Greek nor Egyptian, but Asiatic, Persian, or Indian.

Certain small paintings of landscapes* depict curious little houses, which are not in the native Egyptian taste, and still less in the Greek spirit; I suppose these buildings to be the small palaces imitating Persian houses mentioned by Strabo. This echo of Asiatic taste reveals itself further in the over-luxuriance of a decoration already too brilliant in colour, and in the lavish use of yellows imitating gold or gilding; perhaps, also, in the mosaic columns, which, though they reflect Egyptian feeling in the main, have a special touch of exoticism; the mosaic fountains betray like influences; the symphony of tones is fantastic but harmonious. Again, in the decorations of the so-called Architectural Style, we often find columns supported by animals. Was not this a reminiscence of Asia? Such motives were common to Chaldæa, Assyria, and Asia. The bases of certain columns are ornamented with conventionalised palm-leaves, spikes, rings, fanciful details of the most unexpected kind, recalling certain details of Indian

* See Coloured Plate No. III. 3, and the passages dealing with painted landscapes.

temples, as do also the draperies that hang from baldaquins in folds of heavy gold brocade.

All this Oriental splendour is reproduced with special fervour by the Pompeians of the last period, whose taste, unchastened though *Romanised*, and fascinated by the false glitter of opulence, became a sort of caricature of the Alexandrian spirit.

# II

## THE TECHNIQUE OF POMPEIAN PAINTING—ENCAUSTIC AND ALLIED PROCESSES—FRESCO AND TEMPERA—PREPARATION OF THE WALLS—PLASTERS

THE walls of Pompeian dwellings, one of the chief attractions of the ancient city, gay with the most brilliant and the most delicate tints, have given rise to many experiments on the part of artists and men of science. The mythological subjects and *genre*-scenes with which they are decorated have been exhaustively studied by Herr Helbig, who has classified and described them with the authority proper to his methods.*

We will examine the most curious wall-paintings after a brief inquiry into the probable technique of the Pompeian decorators.

Without pretending to decide a question which is still debated, I may be allowed to give an opinion based on experience, after the numerous copies I have made from the originals. The earlier labours of various chemists and men of science, notably the learned studies of Messrs. Cros and Henry,† will help us considerably in this task.

We shall have to deal with three processes, each highly esteemed in its turn: encaustic, fresco, and tempera painting.

I believe that different processes were made use of at Pompei, accord-

* Two volumes. The first, with an atlas of plates dated 1868, is called *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens.* The second (1873) is the *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei.*

† *L'Encaustique et les autres Procédés de la Peinture chez les Anciens,*

THIRD DECORATIVE STYLE — EGYPTIAN MANNER

(HOUSE OF C. IUCUNDUS)

ing to the place, the material, and the dimensions of the panel to be decorated.

The Painter (Painting in the Naples Museum)

Let us first see what encaustic painting properly so-called was. For this process (that of Zeuxis, Apelles, and Parrhasius), cakes were made of wax and colours of various shades—something like our pastels—and placed in heated palettes. A brush dipped in the mixture was used to sketch the picture, but the wax, as it cooled, became too thick for delicate gradations and modelling; the painter then had recourse to the operation of *kausis;* he went over his work with a hot iron, causing the touches to melt one into another. The irons used were called *cauteres;* the principal of these was the *cestrum*, a kind of toothed spatula shaped like a betony leaf (χεστρον).

Allegory of Painting (Painting from the Macellum)

It is true that at Pompei no trace is to be found of the hot *cestrum*, which always leaves a hollow mark, whereas in paintings executed entirely with the brush the touches are in relief. Nevertheless, encaustic painting must certainly have been practised in Pompei, and if the works in this process were not destroyed in the catastrophe, they must have been carried off by the ancients who came back for the spoils of their perished city. In many houses, as I have already pointed out, there are spaces on the walls where paintings have been removed, leaving the iron clamps that fastened them still in place.

Preparing the Walls (Painting in the Naples Museum)

At all periods encaustic painting was much appreciated by the Romans, and Pliny speaks of various pictures by great masters of the art for which connoisseurs would pay their weight in gold. Difficult as the process was, it had the advantage of giving great latitude

to the artist in the completion of his work. With the hot *cestrum* he could retouch his pictures after an interval of several years; thus Protogenes was at work for over seven years on his *Ialysos*.

The method was much practised in Rome itself, and Pliny mentions various artists, one of them a woman, Lala of Cyzicus, who painted portraits, notably of women, on ivory with a brush and the *cestrum*. At Naples she painted "an old woman in a large picture," and she also painted her own portrait with the help of a mirror. Pompei, then, must have been familiar with this process, which was not carried out on the walls themselves, but on ivory tablets, wooden panels, and also on specially prepared canvases, very carefully woven, as Boëtius tells us in the introduction to his *Arithmetic*.

Such pictures were framed, as we see from their simulated counterparts in Pompeian decorations. They were hung on the walls and tilted forward, as in our own times, and preserved from light and dust by movable shutters attached to the frame. The process used for the walls of Pompei must have been one derived from encaustic proper, in which the colours were applied cold, for we find no trace of the *cestrum* here, and the marks of the brush are clearly defined and freely applied. The handling indicates the use of liquid or viscous colour, which remained malleable for a long time, as in tempera or oil-painting.

In the preparation of colours wax was used, often mixed with resins mingled with colour in powder, or in cakes, such as those in the Museum of Pompei, which were found in shops in the town. With the colours were pieces of pitch, tar, and asphalt, little pots filled with these substances, and a brush. Mortars and pestles for grinding colours were also found, and large bowls with lips.

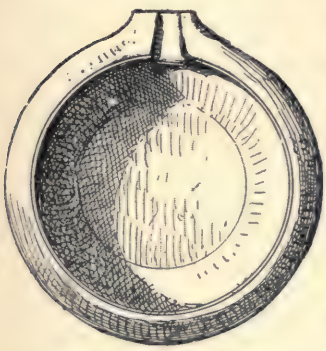
The binding media generally used in mural painting were essential oils, such as laurel-oil, tar-oil (called *piscina*), naphtha, used from very remote antiquity, and nut-oil, the siccative qualities of which are extolled by the physician Aetius, who describes its manufacture. Colours moistened with egg and milk were also used, with an admixture of wax and resin, a

preparation which preserved the same tone after drying as when freshly applied. The *sarcocolla* mentioned by Pliny, as used to give a glutinous consistency to colours, was also freely employed, and the paintings executed with this gum-resin have stood in an extraordinary manner. Very often a coat of varnish (*atramentum*) was applied to paintings to give them greater brilliance and also to preserve them, just as Punic wax was applied to marble statues.*

The Woman Artist (Painting in the Naples Museum)

Fresco, properly so-called, was very little used in Pompei. It was sometimes employed to sketch out large compositions on a white ground, which could be finished off in tempera or slaked lime. But this kind of painting was only used for decorations on walls with no admixture or on walls coated with lime.

For painting on stucco, so much in vogue at Pompei, a different system was necessary. For this last method the walls were plastered with three layers of mortar composed of several substances, one of which was ground marble. Before the last application, the first two layers were beaten vigorously to expel the damp and give hardness and consistency. For modest houses in which the decoration was rudimentary a single coat sufficed, and this was covered with the fine lime that is found in amphoræ at Pompei. In dwellings where the decoration was to be on an expensive scale, the last layer was of fine stucco, polished like marble by beating it with *baculi* (kind of wooden pestles). According to Pliny and Vitruvius, when the wall thus prepared was dry. it was coated over with Punic wax, melted and



Bowl for Grinding Colours

* The experiments made by M. Chevreul and by the German painter Ernst Bergen have proved that wax was in use at Pompei.

mixed with oil, applied with a brush; and to this, at Pompei, red, yellow, or black colouring matter was always added. Then the wall was heated by means of a charcoal brazier till the wax was slightly melted, to ensure its fusion. A wall thus prepared was ready for the illuminator. Fresco, we may be sure, was not the method used, for very often the subjects were executed on the ground-colour itself, so that there could have been no working *a fresca*. Occasionally, too, the ornaments of black dadoes were made in the original white stucco, and reserved, as was done on vases with red figures.

On several walls to which a coating of uniform colour was applied, a difference of level is perceptible to the touch, masked by red or black fillets enframing the paintings; but this is not an indication in favour of fresco, as certain authors have maintained. The painter who executed the figures does not seem to have always been the same who did the ornamental decoration. Mythological subjects in particular were also painted on the easel, and then fixed into spaces hollowed to receive them. These paintings, generally of small dimensions, are very carefully executed, and fresco is ill-suited for restricted surfaces. Again, we frequently find iron clamps to keep the paintings in place, which would have been unnecessary had they been painted on the wall itself. Broadly speaking, it may be said that ornamental decorations are applied to waxed stucco by means of gum-resin, naphtha, *sarcocolla*, &c., and that figure subjects, unless executed on plaster already coloured, are painted in a method derived from encaustic, being first broadly sketched in with transparent liquid colour serving as a preparatory ground, which, however, may very well have been of the same substance as the after application, although lighter. A practical and expeditious process, easy of application, and suitable to every kind of surface; one, in fact, singularly akin to modern methods.

# III

## COLOURS—SKETCHES—TECHNICAL TREATMENT—PLAGIARISMS

THE colours used and found at Pompei in powder or balls are the following: chalk white, yellow ochre, red ochre, cinnabar (known in India from the remotest antiquity), indigo, Egyptian blue, known as *vestorien* (our cerulean); burnt siena, a kind of purplish earth, a pink of the same kind as that of madder, umber, light green, a neutral tint, flesh-colour, violet and black.

With this range of tints, several of which were composite, the Pompeians succeeded in producing the most delicate harmonies as well as the warmest of tones; their painting often gives the impression of having been executed with the juices of grass and of crushed rose-leaves; in contrast with effects that have all the transparence of water-colour painting, we find the deep golden and russet tones of the Venetians. Every kind of handling is to be met with; and this fact is not without importance, proving as it does the existence of individual painters, masters of the conduct of their work, and no mere servile copyists. No doubt there were master-decorators who had books of patterns, containing the principal decorative motives, which they must have combined with great freedom, for we scarcely find two decorations exactly alike, especially in details of ornament. The same figures are sometimes used, but always with variations.

Several of the ruined surfaces allow us to see how the painters proceeded in painting figures on a wall. A few bold strokes put in with a style hollowed the outline of the figure. The lines, when they were to

remain visible, were always painted red, a colour harmonising with the flesh-tints, and helping to give that warm general tone which characterises nearly all Pompeian paintings.

A very curious ancient sketch made on a wall with a style, and retaining but slight traces of colour, represents Mercury giving a purse to Fortuna. I made a tracing of it, which is here reproduced. The outline is hollow, and the dotted lines show the extreme limit covered by the painting itself. This manner of sketching with the style was only used for the outlining of small isolated figures and dancers, or for subjects which required no composition strictly so called.

The drawing of the figures is often mediocre, but the strokes are expressive, the handling free to excess and extraordinarily skilful. This quality has hardly been appreciated as it deserves, as we may see by opening the most elaborate works dealing with Pompei. They all show the same desire to touch up the ancients, to make them appear to better advantage. The exact opposite is the result. Their fire and originality of treatment disappear, to make place for a trivial convention well calculated to repel would-be students of the works of this period. In this connection photography has been of the greatest service by giving us exact reproductions ; but it has this drawback, that it reproduces everything indiscriminately, confounding the injuries of a wall with the subject painted on it. It is, therefore, often necessary to copy the Pompeian paintings with all the careful sincerity of the photograph. The heads are not always in drawing, the mouths are incorrect, the eyes often squint ; but these defects are not very great in our eyes, and are even useful, as tending to dispel the too generally accepted idea that the art of the ancients was hide-bound by convention.

The Pompeians are often very modern, and they have this quality, that their composition was always restrained ; they had a fine tradition ; their art represented the last dying rays of Greek art, shedding its light on that epoch of Roman decadence which Pliny and Petronius so bitterly deplored.

Petronius attributed this decadence to the love of money: "Cease," he says, "to marvel at the decay of painting, since gods and men take more pleasure in the sight of an ingot than in all the masterpieces of Apelles, Phidias, and all the *maundering Greeks*, as they call them."*

Painters copied even the statues, and "adapted" them, modifying them in all sorts of ways. A single example of this may suffice.

The action of the *Hercules with the Doe*, found at Pompei, is reproduced several times. We recognise it in the paintings of the *Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents*, in a *Pentheus Killed by Bacchantes*, and in the monochrome from Herculaneum, the *Centaur Eurystheus, Hippodamia and Theseus*. The legs of the infant Hercules, of Pentheus and of Theseus, are in the same position as those of the bronze. The upper part of the body is changed, but the plagiarism is evident.

Sketch on a Wall (Region VI. Insula XIV.)

A striking example of an analogy of interpretation is also to be found in the *Death of Dirce*, reproduced in coloured plate No. VIII., which in its general arrangement recalls the group known as the *Farnese Bull* in the Naples Museum. This system was adopted more especially at the last period, when polychrome statues were no doubt copied. Painters could satisfy luxurious tastes cheaply with clever imitations of the works of Zeuxis, Apelles, and Timanthes.

If the Roman painters deserved the anathemas of Petronius as regards

* Petronius LXXXVIII.

great art, it must not be forgotten that many of the small subjects found at Pompei, Herculaneum, and Stabiæ are of real interest in their originality of composition and delicacy of characterisation. In certain paintings we see a reflection of the ancient style, and in other subjects grace and nature have very happily inspired the obscure artists of Campania, many of whom were certainly Greeks—Alexander of Athens, for instance, and Dioscorides of Samos, whose works at Herculaneum and Pompei have come down to us. We will pass them in review, and we shall find, together with classical mythologic subjects, many charming works representing original Græco-Roman painting touched by the youthful charm of the Alexandrian spirit.

# IV

## ANCIENT PAINTINGS—EXAMPLES OF STYLE—GREEK PAINTING

THE most ancient paintings discovered in Southern Italy or Græcia Magna were found, not at Pompei, but at Pæstum and Ruvo. They date from the fifth century, and their technique is identical with that of the Etruscan paintings, though they have none of the Asiatic stamp of the latter. These Italiot frescoes seem more directly inspired by Greece proper, by vases and archaic paintings, works of Polygnotus, who could not yet model forms and give relief to bodies, though he succeeded in rendering the transparence of tissues.

Italiot Painting found at Ruvo (Naples Museum)

Pompei, which owned at least one Greek temple contemporary with those of Pæstum, must also have had paintings of the same period, but so far no trace of these has been discovered. As the soil of a part of Campania was covered over with the thick stratum of ashes from Vesuvius, no ancient relics of the fifth century B.C. have come to light in the neighbourhood of Pompei. As to the city itself, it was so often partially

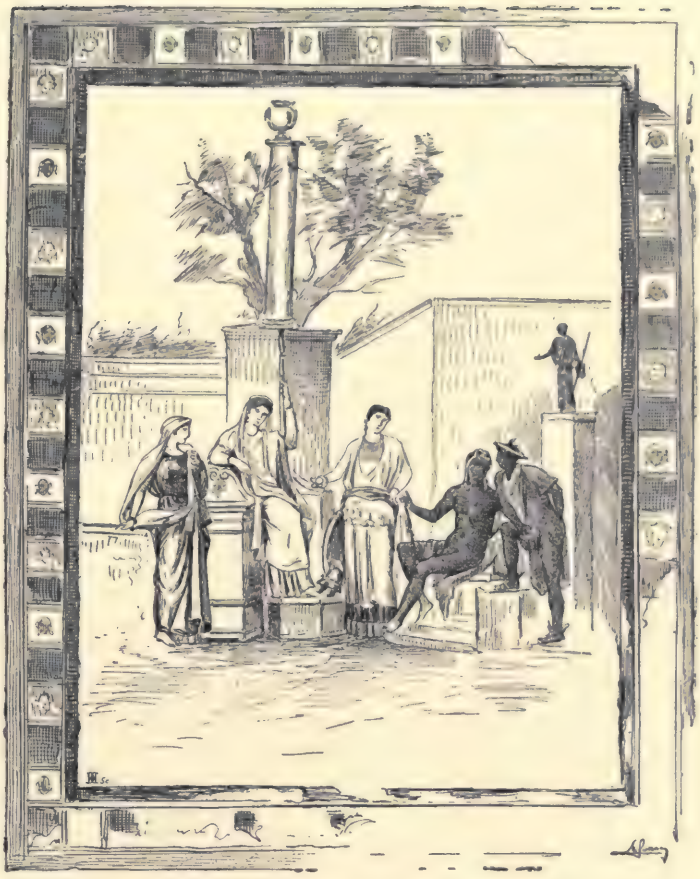
destroyed that one cannot hope to find within its walls any vestiges of an art that would have thrown much light on the history of Pompei. We should perhaps have discovered specimens of paintings akin to those little examples at Rome, which came from the house on the banks of the Tiber known as the Farnesina. The figures of these are soberly coloured in purple tones, and are ascribed to artists influenced by the archaicists (first century B.C.).

Painting from the Farnesina (Rome)

In spite of these *lacunæ*, we find certain paintings on the walls of Pompei which may date from the time of the first Emperors, but they are few, for the year 63 was disastrous to Pompei. These works, however, show a closer affinity with Greek art than those of later periods, and some of the figures have even that air of inspiration that marks the vases and bas-reliefs of the fourth century; they have the elegance of the Tanagra figurines, though they are less supple, and the same style of draperies, but there is an Egyptian cast in the types. In these paintings the women are always draped, and the background is of white stucco; the sky is not indicated; the landscape background is broadly treated in very high tones. The delicate charm of the faces is enhanced by an air of great distinction; the carnations, which are very dark in the male figures, are painted in solid colour; the drawing is exact, the folds of drapery well marked, even perhaps with a certain dryness, but the general effect is noble and full of style.

The Judgment of Paris (Painting in the House of Holconius)

Blues, violets, and yellows predominate. The style may be derived from the fashion set by the Greek Pasiteles, famous under Cæsar for his terra-cotta sketches (*proplasmata*) executed in the archaic manner. It was probably this style of painting which Pliny characterises as in the manner of the ancients; so that the pictorial compositions of the early Empire were "absolutely Greek," as M. Girard maintains in his interesting work on antique painting.



The Judgment of Paris (Painting in the Naples Museum)

Venus and Urania (Painting in the Naples Museum)

As an exercise in style, the painting we reproduce in its Egyptian frame is very complete in all its details. It represents *The Judgment of Paris.* This tribute to Venus was a favourite theme with the artists of Pompei. We give another rendering, painted in the last period of the city's history. The difference in feeling, drawing, and even in technique is remarkable.

In the early version Paris, the shepherd's *pedum* in his hand and the Phrygian cap on his head, has followed the counsel of Mercury, and hands the apple to Venus. The scene is laid in a sacred enclosure, where are a tree and a column in honour of some divinity. The figure of Paris is full of youthful grace. Juno and Minerva have their heads covered; Venus, the *cestus* round her hips, holds the apple in triumph.

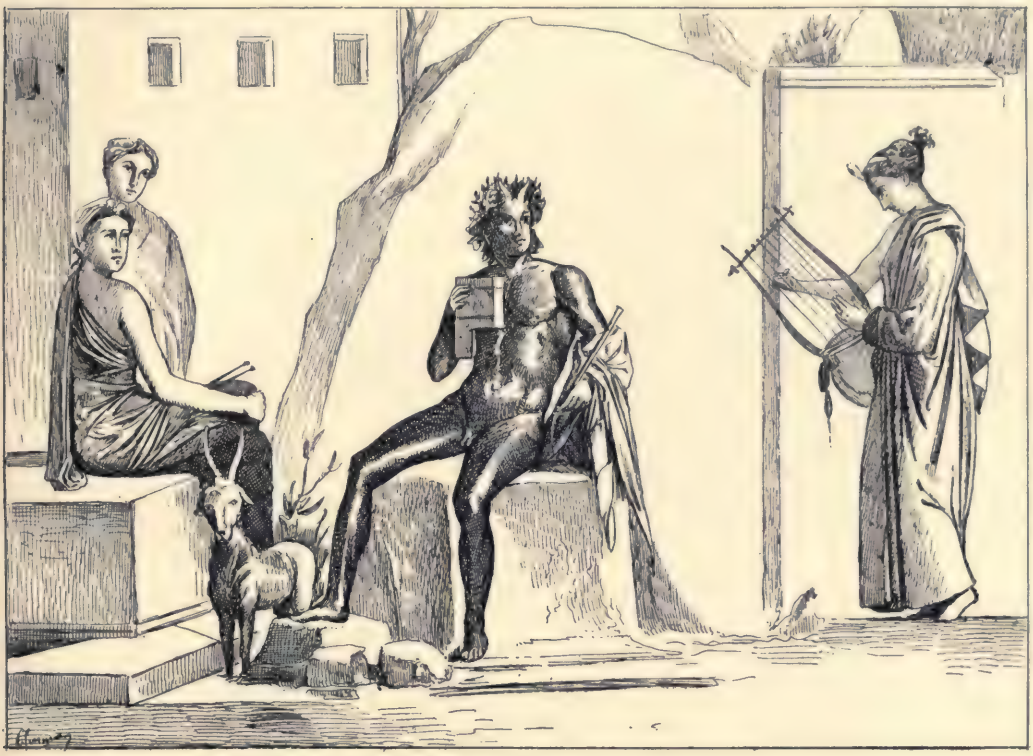
Painting in the Naples Museum

Another subject is curious: *Venus and Urania*, or sensual Love, the companion of Venus, driven away by Urania, the personification of pure and holy Love. The former weeps at the harsh words of the latter. Or the composition may represent Eros and Anteros (the standing Love has fettered feet). Next we may glance at a figure from a subject in the same style, representing a servant with an Egyptian profile crouching down to take some jewels from a casket for the adornment of a Venus seated on a throne and protected by Mars; then at the three standing figures, which are said to represent Pelias and his daughters, a simple group of considerable character. They are taken from a composition in which Jason occupies

Pelias and his Daughters (Painting in the Naples Museum)

the foreground with several figures smaller than those of the principal group.

A Pan surrounded by Muses, one of whom touches a lyre, is remarkable for the grace of the musician, whose refined silhouette is worthy of the Greeks. The Pan himself, in the form of a handsome *ephebus*, very skilfully modelled, gives off the luminous reflections of a bronze statue.



Pan and the Muses (Painting in the Naples Museum)

An *Iphigenia going from the Temple to the Sacrifice* is of the same school, though more artless in execution. The pensive maiden, decked with flowers and jewels, is draped with great simplicity. Her sober gesture and dignified bearing are very characteristic of the victim of Diana. Very simple in composition, but less skilful than the others, this last subject is the work of an artist whose science was hardly equal to his inspiration.

The actual *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* is also represented at Pompei. The composition is well known, and is said to be the oldest example of Pompeian

Iphigenia descending from the Temple (Paint'ng from the House of Jucundus. Naples Museum)

painting. The principal argument in support of this hypothesis is, that the height of the figures is proportioned to their importance. But this system was not invariably adopted by the ancients. At Pompei we find it applied in very few compositions.

In composition the Pompeian painting follows closely on the lines of the famous work of Timanthes, who, as Valerius Maximus tells us, veiled the face of Agamemnon, despairing of adequately rendering his grief. But in execution it is very inferior to the works just described. The heads are less firmly modelled, the handling is heavy, and the defects of the other paintings are all accentuated here. Iphigenia's face is commonplace and inexpressive. The Pompeian artist seems to have attempted to imitate a style he did not understand, which is not surprising, for the composition was found in the *House of the Tragic Poet*, the decorations of which

The Forsaken Ariadne (Region IX. Insula II.)

date from about the year 63. (The *Iphigenia on the Steps of the Temple* came from the *tablinum* of Cæcilius Jucundus, which is in the Egyptian style; it is probably earlier than 63.)

The Medæa of Timomachus' famous picture was treated several times, both at Pompei and Herculaneum. The two examples we reproduce differ somewhat. The single figure probably approached the original more closely; it may have formed part of a composition. It indicates the two conflicting

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia (Painting from the House of the Tragic Poet. Naples Museum)

feelings that warred in Medæa's breast more vividly. She does not brandish the blade, but is about to raise it; yet the pose of the hands denotes indecision; the eye is haggard and remorseful, but the mouth has the bitterness of brooding vengeance.

Another subject often treated at Pompei in the archaic style was *The Forsaken Ariadne.* Ariadne is represented sometimes from in front, sometimes from behind, but the general arrangement is much the same in either case. In our reproduction the weeping Ariadne watches the vessel that bears away the faithless Theseus; Cupid weeps by her side; but a

winged genius, the *genius albus* of Horace, points to the unseen consoler, Bacchus. In other pictures the god and his attendants are shown advancing along the shore to the forsaken nymph. In their sobriety of tone and

Medæa (Paintings in the Naples Museum)

simplicity of drapery this painting, and the *Iphigenia leaving the Temple*, recall the works of Puvis de Chavannes.*

* See reproduction in colour, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, September 1, 1896.

# V

## LIBERTY AND LICENCE IN PAINTING—LARGE COMPOSITIONS—MONOCHROMES

THE subjects we have examined so far seem to have been inspired by examples of the best periods. We note in them that ideal of art which distinguished Zeuxis, who rendered the play of light and shadow while carefully preserving *style*, a quality inconsistent with minute realism.

To this probable ideal succeeded that of Parrhasius, who treated his works with great freedom, modifying the shadows and emphasising the lights. He was the master of the school by which most of the Pompeian artists were formed. The subjects recorded as treated by this master must have been rendered with absolute realism. Such were the *Archigallus* and the *Atalanta and Meleager*, which Tiberius placed in his bedchamber. Parrhasius contributed a good deal to the practice of erotic painting, which, no longer symbolical, became merely obscene. Propertius inveighs against works of this description in an impassioned passage.*

Italy boasted another picture by Parrhasius, which had been bought or taken from the Greeks, and a *Theseus*. Temples and palaces were adorned with the works of the Greek masters. The *Helena* and the *Marsyas* of Zeuxis; the *Bulls* of Pausias, the *Alexanders* of Nicias and of Apelles, the *Hero* of Timanthes, the *Ialysos* of Protogenes, the *Battle of Issus* of Helena, the *Dionysius* and the *Artamenes* of Aristides, the *Medæa* of

* Propertius II., IV.

Timomachus, and a *Bacchus* and a *Hippolytus* by Antiphilos. All these works were sufficiently famous to serve as sources of inspiration to Pompeian artists, and hence the paintings of Pompei are a reflection of Greek painting even at the latest period, when the subjects treated by the Greeks had become the common property of the artists of Campania.

Orpheus (Painting in the Casa di Orfeo)

In some large compositions the figures are more than life-size. This was *furnishing* decoration, often very broad and spirited in treatment, yet sometimes very compact in composition. The great paintings of Herculaneum are characteristic examples.

There is more nobility in the Pompeian *Orpheus* playing the lyre, under the inspiration of Apollo, and charming the beasts. This colossal figure was reproduced with certain variations in the early days of

Christianity, and Orpheus became the Good Shepherd. Another subject of the same dimensions represents a beautiful languorous youth, well drawn and agreeably posed, supported by Venus and attended by Cupids.

Excavations in Campania have brought to light, in addition to brilliantly coloured paintings such as these, certain curious examples known

The Wounded Adonis (Painting in the Casa di Adone)

as monochromes, which were, in fact, original drawings by artists of repute. Zeuxis executed works of this kind. A much injured design on marble, which we reproduce, was found at Pompei. It is executed partly with the brush and partly with a kind of chalk, much like modern red chalk. The ancients, as we know, did not draw exclusively with the brush. Did not Apelles sketch the portrait of Ptolemy on the wall with a piece of charcoal?*

* Pliny XLV.

The Pompeian monochrome represents *Niobe and her Children.* The delicate drawing of the hands, the harmonious lines of the arms, and the expressive heads combine to make it a document no less precious than the Herculanean monochromes, the most famous of which is the *Girls playing Knuckle-bones,* signed in Greek: "Alexander of Athens made [it]." Above

Niobe and her Companions (Monochrome in the Naples Museum)

each player is inscribed her name: Hilearia, Aglaia, Niobe, Latona, and Phœbe. The graceful attitudes and the undulating sweep of the finely-formed arms make this perhaps the most charming of all the monochromes.

We now come to the somewhat theatrical style, in which lively action is represented. *Achilles recognised by Ulysses* was a very popular subject at Pompei. It was rendered in mosaic as well as in paintings.

The painted composition, though it has the accessory figures of

Lycomedes and Deidamia, seems incomplete, and has the appearance of a fragment. In the mosaic, Ulysses is the central figure. His gesture and that of Achilles also are alike in both painting and mosaic. Deidamia, the secretly-wedded wife, seems terrified at the choice made by Achilles, and its implied desertion.

The age of this mosaic and its simplicity seem to bring it nearer to the original of Polygnotus, painted in the Pinacoteca of the Athenian Acropolis in the fifth century. (The same subject, treated in a manner approaching more closely to that of the mosaic, is in House 2 of Region IX. Insula V.)

Girls playing, Knuckle-bones (Monochrome, from Herculaneum, in the Naples Museum)

Achilles discovered by Ulysses (Mosaic in the Casa di Apollo)

Other paintings in the same style are *Pentheus killed by Bacchantes*, *Hercules strangling the Serpents*, the *Death of Dirce*, &c., all betraying a taste for exaggeration

and emphasis. The principal charm of these later works lies in the finely-modelled forms of the young men and the beautiful nude bodies of the

Achilles discovered by Ulysses (Painting in the Naples Museum)

women posed in attitudes well calculated to display their attractions. Mythological subjects had put on that light idyllic character by which they were henceforth to be distinguished.

# VI

## THE ALEXANDRIAN SPIRIT—THE NUDE—HERMAPHRODITES, CUPIDS, AND PSYCHES—DANCING GROUPS—SINGLE FIGURES—FEMININE BEAUTY

THE Pompeian painters, moulded by their age, often translated the sentiments of Ovid, who himself drew his inspiration from the school of Alexandria. Following out a tendency already clearly defined, the author of the *Metamorphoses* treats mythology in an anecdotic vein, sympathising both with the graces and the frailties of his heroines, which latter, under his pen, become almost charming. His verses, like those of Propertius and Catullus, are instinct with the worship of woman, of Venus. The Pompeians, as we have seen, were among the first to emphasise this homage. Petronius in many respects, as M. Anatole France has well said, is the writer who gives us Pompeian sentiment in all its exuberance. No longer do the painters illustrate the *Iliad;* Cupid, Venus, and Bacchus and his train enact all their adventures on the walls. Io, Danaë, Leda, and Europa show their fair forms in the

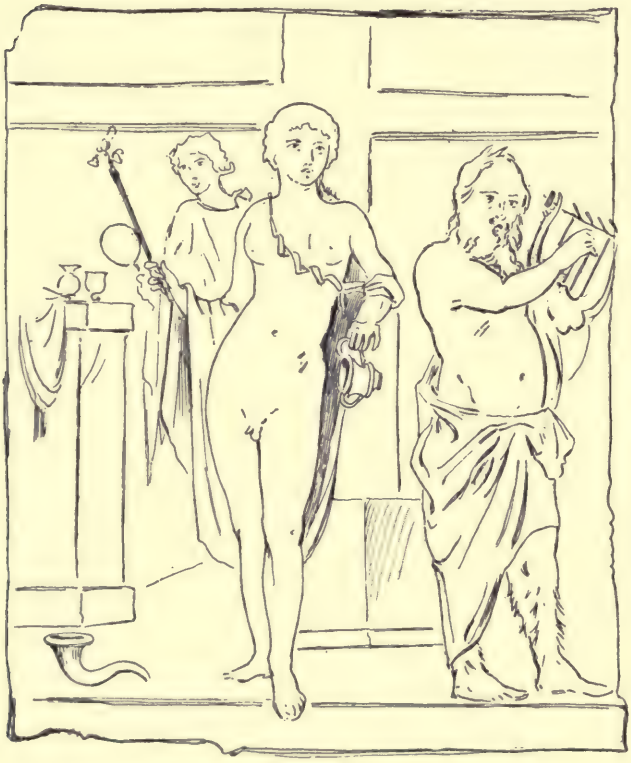
Mars and Venus (Painting in the Naples Museum)

attitudes dear to the gods, each accentuating the amorous character of

The Cortège of Love (Painting in the House of the Vettii)

Jupiter. Venus, when she is not in the arms of Adonis, dallies with Mars. In a decorative panel of three compartments Venus occupies the central niche, her husband Vulcan and her lover Mars those on either side. The pure Apollo himself spends his time pursuing Daphne; Hercules is often drunk, and dreams of rape; he pursues Auge, and is himself overthrown by Cupid. In a painting in the House of Siricus, a cloud of Cupids rush upon him, jeer at him, pull his hair, and carry off his club. He is tormented like Gulliver in the hands of the Lilliputians, and the enthroned gods of Olympus look down on the scene complaisantly, for Cupid has conquered the world, and is lord of all, having possessed himself of all the weapons of the gods, as an epigram in the Anthology declares. Mythology has become playful, amusing, worthy of the witty and light-hearted Alexandrians.

Painting in the House of the Vettii



Hermaphrodite Bacchus (Painting in the Casa del Centenario)

But at Pompei Bacchus was difficult to disarm. The weaker his

divine brethren, the stronger he waxed. He becomes the accomplice of

Psyches (Painting in the House of the Vettii)

Venus and Cupid, but he, too, is subdued at last, and even to the point of losing his virility. By one of those aberrations common in mythology, he had become so effeminated that the Pompeian painters often represent him as a Hermaphrodite.

Hermaphrodite (Painting in the Naples Museum)

M. Reinach,* speaking of the *Eros* of Praxiteles, says: "He is no more a Hermaphrodite than Phædra or Charmides; he is fair, with the dual beauty of man and woman; a masterpiece, and no sport of nature. The influence of Oriental creeds, at once gross and mystic, and the decay of manners destroyed the ideal conception of Athenian civilisation. The Hermaphrodite became, not the synthesis of two beauties, but of two sexes." This is exactly the sentiment expressed at Pompei, where the androgynous Bacchus was the outcome of a sated imagination, taking pleasure in the equivocal admiration of ambiguous charms, the two elements of which are to be found in the formula of the worship of *Venus physica Pompeiana:* Venus-Bacchus.

* See notice of Plate XIV. in the *Nécropole de Myrina.*

Eros was the Lord of Pompei; her walls are peopled with Cupids.

Woman and Satyr (Painting in the Naples Museum)

Dancing Group (Painting in the Naples Museum)

On every side the roguish urchins crouch and hide, or spring forth fresh,

Dancing Canephoros (Painting in the Casa del Centenario)

Dancing Canephoros (Painting in the Casa del Centenario)

A Dancer (Painting in the Casa di Meleagro)

plump, and rosy. Their baby-pinions are white, their hair golden; their companions are little Psyches with butterfly wings. They frolic together,

but they work, too, at all manner of trades; they are shoemakers and florists, vintagers and fullers, even doctors* (see plate No. V.).

Certain groups and single figures of dancers seem to belong to the cycle of Dionysos; all his suite marches by, Bacchantes, Fauns, Satyrs. The Three Graces represent one woman in three equally graceful attitudes.

A Dancer (Painting in the Naples Museum)

The Three Graces (Painting in the Naples Museum)

The small figurines are no less elegant and airy; they flutter, turn, embrace, entwine, and even let themselves be carried off with a certain coquetry. All these Pompeian dancers, swathed in diaphanous veils, sway their slender bodies in voluptuous self-abandonment. Their floating draperies serve but to accentuate some feminine perfection, a rounded breast or delicately modelled back. But isolated figures and heroines of some episode have all the same amorous complexion, the same alluring air. The essence of Pompeian art was charm.

The treatment of these dancing figures is very interesting. They are

* Pottier, *Les Statuettes de Terre cuite.*

executed with all the brilliance of Watteau.* The life and freedom of movement are extraordinary. Some are lightly sketched or thrown on to the walls with a facility worthy of Degas. Fantin-Latour, too, has his counterpart at Pompei, both in handling and in the sweep of feminine contours. A standing *Leda*, which we reproduce in colour (plate No. I.), is very modern in treatment. The brushing is like a freely executed pastel. The modelling is obtained by touches juxtaposed and superposed diagonally; the transition from golden light to transparent shadows by little hatchings of pink, tawny, greenish, and red tones, which blend into harmony at a distance, have a certain likeness to M. Henri Martin's method.

Centaur and Bacchante (Painting from Cicero's Villa, in the Naples Museum)

Movement and decorative effect could hardly be carried farther than in the *Centaur tamed by a Bacchante* reproduced above. The original is a mere sketch, the drawing not very correct; but how charming is the composition, in which energy and delicacy are combined with the happiest result!

* It is interesting to note that Watteau, Fragonard, and Boucher are the painters, among the moderns, who have most affinity with the artists of Pompei. A Watteau in the Lacaze collection at the Louvre (*The Judgment of Paris*) might have come from Pompei. Indeed, there are many analogies between the eighteenth century and the first century of the Christian era, when a certain daintiness veiled the coarsest things with a vicious charm.

# VII

## ALLEGORY—GENRE-PAINTINGS—ORIGINAL PAINTING—INTERIORS

WE now come to the genre-paintings, several of which are allegorical and anecdotic.

In one, *Hymen* (or *Helen and Paris?*), the composition seems a little empty; but this very sobriety of design accentuates the mystic character of Love, who appears as the master of the house, inviting the pair to enter.

Hymen (Painting in the Naples Museum)

The well-known *Dealer in Cupids* found at Stabiæ may be included in the Pompeian gallery, for there is a replica in the *Casa di Arriana*, so much defaced that it is barely possible to make out that the *Dealer* is a man instead of a woman. The execution of this piece is of the most summary description, though the numerous copies made of it give it the polish and finish of a miniature. The composition is dainty and pleasing, a very poetic travesty of proxenetism.

A composition of a very different character represents *Pero suckling her aged Father Cymon in Prison*, an episode much admired by the Greeks.

With these two little subjects we approach very closely to original painting, genre subjects, tavern scenes, interiors and theatrical incidents.

Greek Charity (Painting in the Naples Museum)

The scenes from the tavern and the *triclinium* given in preceding

The Dealer in Cupids (Painting from Stabiæ in the Naples Museum)

chapters are not all of pronounced artistic interest, but they are nevertheless curious in themselves. Sketchily treated and very animated in handling,

the types are always well characterised, and the costume indicated in its main features. Our coloured plate No. III. gives a specimen of the treatment of these sketches. They show certain analogies with the works of a painter described by Pliny, Pyreicus, whose speciality, one much in favour at his time, was the rendering of barbers' and shoemakers' shops, kitchen-stuffs, and donkeys, which earned for him the nickname of *Rhyparographos* (a painter of common things). But his works, it appears, fetched higher prices than the great pictures of his fellow-artists.

The Toilette (Painting from Herculaneum, in the Naples Museum)

Finally, we may note such graceful genre pictures as *The Toilette* (from Herculaneum) and the *Woman-Artist*, little works that charm by the grace of the figures and the delicacy of the colour.

We need not linger over the theatrical subjects, of which we have already spoken. They have no special peculiarity of treatment, but are always skilful and expressive in handling.

# VIII

## PORTRAITS

MANY of the pictures reproduced in our illustrations are familiar to students, but there is another class of paintings—the portraits—which are comparatively unknown. Hitherto the only example of this kind that has been duly appreciated is the group of Paquius Proculus and his wife. Proculus, whose name we know from an inscription in his house, was, owing to his great popularity, raised to the rank of *duumvir iure dicundo*. In his portrait he wears the toga and holds a *volumen* in his hand, while his wife presses a style to her lips. Both the faces, with their widely opened eyes, have a certain frank and honest simplicity of expression, and the vigorous painting and warm scale of colour recall the portraits of Fayoum. Some small portrait-heads in the Naples Museum are hung so high that they pass almost unnoticed.

Portraits of the Baker Paquius Proculus and his Wife (Naples Museum)

An examination of the portraits in the museum would lead one to suppose that only one portrait had come down to us, together with a few heads of secondary interest, illustrating certain Pompeian types. This seemed to me exceedingly improbable. During my first stay in the city I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Fitzgerald Marriott, who knew Pompei well, and who drew up a list of sixty portraits.* Choosing those that were least damaged, I made copies of fifty † of the same size as the originals.

Portraits (Region IX. Insula V. No. 18)

Portraits (Painting in the House of Holconius)

The majority of them are, naturally, women; portraits of men are not so common, and there are only three pictures of children. These heads are enframed in yellow, red, or black rectangular borders, or placed in medallions, like the portraits painted on shields which Pliny calls *clypei* from their shape.

These portraits may be divided into three classes: family portraits, allegorical portraits, and portraits of celebrities—poets, musicians, or actors. Two portraits, reproduced here, are framed in an Egyptian border, and appear to date from the time of the

* Mr. Fitzgerald Marriott was the first to publish an essay on this question: "Facts about Pompei and Family Portraits at Pompei" (*Archæological Journal*, March 1897).

† This series is now in the library of the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*.

early Emperors. The two faces have a certain Greek charm and distinction. The woman holding the red and white *flabellum* wears a pale violet *himation*, and her companion, whose chin is hidden, is draped in a delicate green mantle. These two heads are placed rather high up on the wall, though as a rule such portraits are on the eye-level.

Portrait (Painting, Region VII. Insula II. No. 6)

Two medallions which were found in the same room represent, one a brother and sister (see plate No. VII. 6), the other a betrothed couple. The woman wearing jewels and a diadem of pearls, in plate No. VII. 3, carries a *flabellum*, has her hair carefully arranged, and seems to be dressed for some entertainment. The head in plate No. VII. 2, with the dreamy eyes and a look of inspiration, has the distinction of some eighteenth century portrait of the *poudré* period.

The Asiatic head in plate No. VIII. 2, looks like a bronze with a small pointed beard; and the child with tangled hair (plate No. VII. 2) and projecting ears is another curious and constantly recurring type.

Very different is the aristocratic head of an *Ephebus* in profile, a position not often found in Pompeian portraits. Another example, however, is a small cameo-like head of a woman in the Naples Museum.

Painting in the House of Lucretius

The graceful girl with ear-rings and a gold necklace (plate No. VIII. 1) is very interesting, and the face with its delicate mouth is attractive, although the eyes do not correspond. An Eros on her shoulder (where he

is placed in almost all the portraits of women) seems to be whispering of love.

In plate No. VI. 3, Love is about to take the transparent blue veil from a languorous young girl, a bride for whom the bridegroom waits.

Next to these comes the class of portraits inspired by mythological allegory. The opulent Bacchante (plate No. VII. 5), with her fine flesh-tints and Venetian colouring, is pursued by a lewd old Silenus—a reminiscence of the orgies of Bacchic festivals.

Painting in the House of Holconius

Another priestess of Bacchus, carrying a *thyrsus* and *cantharus*, charms and cajoles the revellers with her keen and arch expression (plate No. VIII. 3). A head of a man wearing the *pileus* surmounted by the crescent has the curling locks of certain Renaissance portraits. The picture of the girl with her doll is perhaps intended for Ariadne and the infant Iacchus. In another group, a youthful Satyr fixes his lustful hypnotic eyes on a girl; both hold *thyrsi*, and are ready for the Bacchic orgies. Another Bacchante has her hair curiously dressed in plaits.

Painting in the House of Holconius

The two male heads we reproduce in a coloured plate look like the portraits of celebrities. One of these persons (plate No. VII. 1), wearing a full *pallium* and a crown of leaves, has a dignified and martial air, and might pass for a Greek philosopher, while the second portrait (plate No. VII. 4) suggests, in certain details, a comparison with a mosaic, representing Virgil, found in Africa.*

Painting (Region I. Insula II. No. 3)

We will not insist too strongly on this likeness, but it is certain that the man with the laurel crown is a Latin poet, and that the bronzed profile in the same medallion represents another Roman poet.

In another coloured plate (plate No. VI. 1) we give a portrait of a woman wearing a net on her hair. A replica, now in the Naples Museum, was found at Pompei. The latter, which is rather uncertain in drawing, is the more complete. Both hands are shown: the left holds a waxed tablet and the right raises the style to the mouth (in the coloured illustration the style is green). These two heads possibly represent an ancient poetess, Corinna, or Sappho, the "Tenth Muse," as she is called in an epigram.

Portrait (Painting in the Naples Museum)

The *tibicen* with his severe features is a very Oriental type. The hands are carefully arranged in the picture and artistically cut off by the

* See *Fondation Piot*, Vol. IV.

frame. The masterful original of this portrait was, perhaps, some Pompeian musician; or a Marsyas may be suggested by the Silenus-like ears. This detail, however, may be only an allegorical tribute to the skill of the musician, for such mythological allusions are constantly met with in ancient art, where women are often represented as Venuses with Loves in their train. The idea is common to all ages.

Tibicen (Painting, Region IX. Insula II. No. 16)

The last in this series of portraits is a rough drawing in red on the walls of Pompei, of which I made a tracing. It represents a bull-necked athlete with a brutal face. It is a sketch of a few dashing lines, but full of truth and character.

Athlete (Region IX. Insula VI.)

The last portrait I shall give is a curious head of Silenus in the Museum of Pompei.

Painted Head of Silenus (Museum Pompei)

These portraits show much variety of type, and are of great interest as illustrations to the history of the city. They show us the people of Pompei, the dainty faces of the women, the strongly-marked features of the men. Health and the "joy of life" breathe from them, and the charming coquetry of the women is gracefully displayed. In the delicate

tints of their draperies rose-colour is blended with light blue and red with pale gold. Fair hair, generally curled or waved, enframes the soft eyes, once the mirrors of the city. Even now these classical types of beauty are to be found among the girls of Capri and the country round Vesuvius.

These portraits have another very interesting side: they demonstrate one aspect of original painting at Pompei, and make us more indulgent to artists who drew some part of their inspiration from Nature. A like concern with living things is also revealed in the studies of animals on the walls, and of plants and flowers on the panels of rooms.

FOURTH DECORATIVE STYLE

(HOUSE OF THE VETTII)

# IX

STILL LIFE—FLOWERS—PLANTS—ANIMALS—FOREIGN SUBJECTS—
CARICATURES—PYGMIES—LANDSCAPES

PICTURES of still life were frequently used to decorate *triclinia*, and represented (as in the paintings of Pyreicus in the fourth century B.C.) all varieties of food and fruits placed in glass bowls very skilfully rendered. Pausias, in the same century, first succeeded in rendering the transparency of glass. Flowers and plants were painted decoratively, and a single specimen taken at random will illustrate the simple and ingenious manner in which the artist used a decorative motive—a manner to which we in our own times are beginning to return. Foliage is largely used in decoration, particularly in the Third Style, which combines all the qualities of previous styles.*

Painting of Still Life (Naples Museum)

Painting of Still Life (Naples Museum)

Animals are treated in a variety of ways: in some cases they are the principal subject in large pieces representing scenes from *venationes* in the circus, where bulls, lions, panthers,

* The art of flower-painting must have arisen in Asia, where it has always been practised with great sincerity.

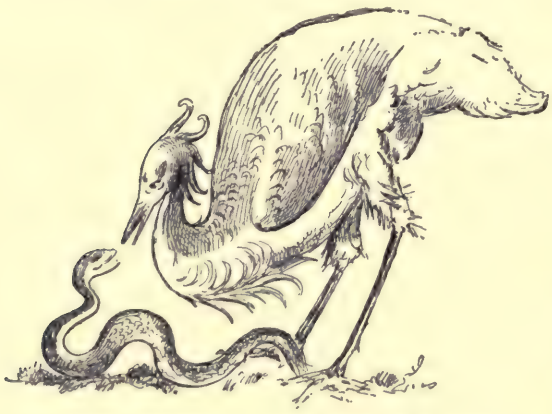
and horses fight and rend each other. These pictures are painted in light tones with great freedom of hand, but, in spite of the fairly natural

Decorative Plants (Painting in the House of Epidus Sabinus)

attitudes of the animals, they do not give the impression of works of art. Some of them, indeed, are more like the scenes painted on a travelling

A Wild Boar Hunt (Painting in the House of the Vettii)

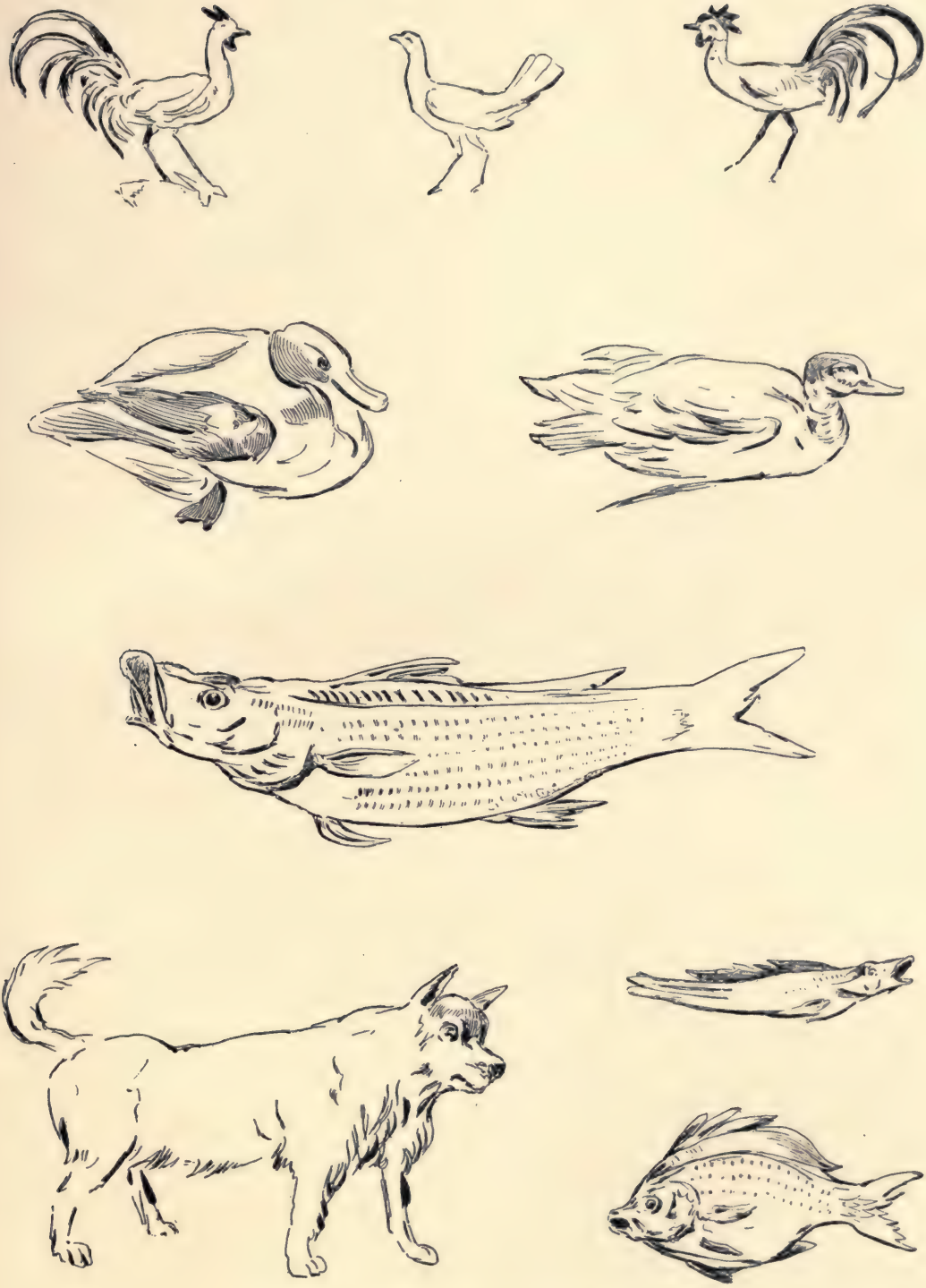
circus. When the painting is on a smaller scale, however, the animals are often skilfully and truthfully rendered.



Crane and Serpent (Painting in the Casa di Adone)

In the House of the Vettii there is a group of two dogs and a boar, the idea of which is taken from a similar group in bronze, now in the Naples Museum, reproduced on p. 390.

The cocks and hen in the full-page illustration are from the ornament in the white *œcus* of the *Casa del Centenario.* The drawing is incorrect, but they are mere sketches lightly introduced among decorative foliage. In the Naples Museum and in the House of the Vettii there is a collection of painted animals where



Cocks, Hen, and Fish (Paintings in the Casa del Centenario)
Dog (Painting in the Casa di Adone)

partridges and quails are cleverly treated. Fishes are always well drawn, and each kind shows its distinctive characteristics.

Egyptian Landscape (Painting in a House in Region IX. Insula V.)

The stork and the serpent from the *Casa di Adone* have a very decorative effect, as have the ducks and swans, which are always skilfully indicated with a few slight touches.

The panel reproduced from a house in the Street of Nola (Region IX. Insula V.), is distinctly foreign in style, and might be mistaken for a Japanese decoration. Paintings of this class are of Egyptian origin, and the views of Egypt and the Nile are by the same hand. Two of our illustrations are from paintings in the same house, in which negro pygmies are represented in an African landscape. One is seen carrying water, as it is still carried in Africa at the present day, and another crosses a small wooden bridge like those built across marshes in the East; a palm-tree grows from afar on the right. But a crocodile comes from the river, and the two pygmies take to their heels; one climbs a palm-tree, while to the left a hippopotamus rushes after some ducks. There is a temple by

Egyptian Landscape (Painting in a House in Region IX. Insula V.)

the waterside, and in the distance a rowing-boat. The picture is full of comic exaggeration; we have here a caricature, such as the Egyptian

Parody of the Judgment of Solomon (Naples Museum)

artist Antiphilos brought into fashion; it is touched with the satire and humour of Alexandrian art, qualities even more marked in the parodies

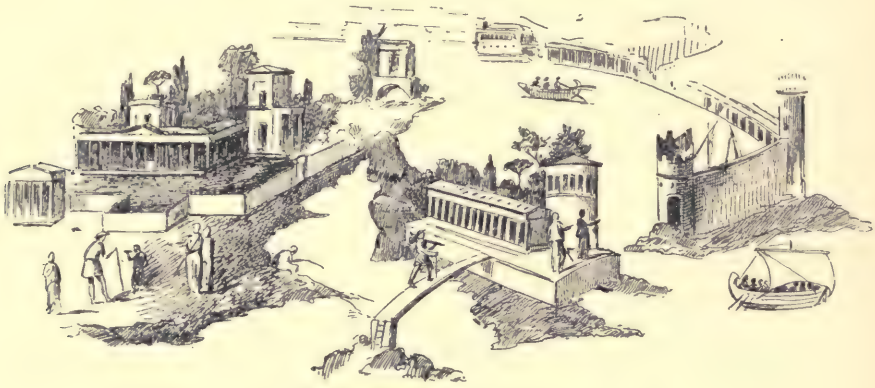
Parody of the Story of Jonah (Painting in the Naples Museum)

of the *Judgment of Solomon* and the *Story of Jonah*, where a hippopotamus plays the part of the whale. The caricature of Æneas is a well-known example of this manner; and pygmies fighting with cranes are also occasionally represented. The pygmies of caricature are always comic and obscene figures, heroes of adventures worthy of the pens of Petronius or Catullus.

Egyptian Landscape (Painting in the Casa di Apollo)

We note a foreign element also in the small landscapes set in medallions (plate No. III. 3), where Asiatic influences may perhaps be traced. They represent a land of loggias and terraces,

and bushy trees surrounding groups of small houses which look like a little village. There are towers commanding a wide view of the country, and fantastic roofs surmounted by pinnacles and spires. Many details of these little pictures are characteristic of the wooden architecture of the Far



Harbour (Painting in the Casa della Piccola Fontana)

East, and the figures are dashed in so roughly that they look like scarecrows, in their short cloaks, and in some instances recall the swashbucklers of Callot's etchings. These small landscapes do not attempt to reproduce Nature, in the modern sense; and their intrinsic value and their execution are about on a par with that of the landscapes on lacquered boxes which tourists buy at watering-places.

Foreign Landscape (Painting in the Casa del Centenario)

Even in the best landscapes of antiquity which have come down to us —for example, the painting from the Esquiline representing *Ulysses and the Læstrygones*, in the museum of the Vatican—the landscape is only a background, although the figures in the picture are small in proportion to the immense rocks on the seashore. This picture might be classed as an example of the so-called "Historical" Style. There is a specimen of the same sort at Pompei, which we reproduce (plate No. III. 3). The blues

and violets of the background are warm and harmonious ; some women and a man, very slightly indicated, are bathing in a spring, perhaps the Fountain of Youth, and the Spirit of the Water is seen in the background.

Ancient landscapes, when they are not purely imaginary, are the exact reproduction of a place, line for line, rendered with topographical accuracy, as in the photograph of the present day. The Alexandrian painter Demetrios was called " *Topographos*," and painted landscapes like those in the *Casa della piccolo Fontana*, where the " topography " of the place, in the modern sense of the term, is clearly indicated. One of these well-known paintings is the bird's-eye view of the delta of a river, with a harbour which is treated with great minuteness.

These decorative paintings must have resembled the works of the Roman artist Ludius, who is praised by Pliny, and who imitated in Italy the manner of the old masters, the *antiqui* of whom Vitruvius speaks. He painted harbours, country-houses, canals, rivers, *euripi*, mountains, and flocks. These pictures, according to Pliny, had the additional merit of being very cheap, and Ludius even proposed to decorate walls in the open air with them.

# X

## MOSAICS

WHILE a decorative painting could be bought at a low price among the Romans, mosaics, on the other hand, were a criterion of wealth.

The House of the Faun (First Style), with its stuccoed walls in the style of the Hellenistic palaces, is one of the oldest houses in the city, and the richest in mosaics. Alexandrian feeling is revealed here in all its intensity, giving yet another proof of the influence of the Ptolemies on the Campanians, whose Greek sympathies were so lively.

Mosaic in the Villa of Diomedes

One of the most famous of these mosaics is the *Battle of Arbela.* Executed in broken tones, in which black and yellow, red and white, green and blue marble are harmoniously combined, it forms a most complete picture by virtue of its ingenious and well-balanced composition and the lively action of its figures. This historical picture is probably the copy of a work by Helena, a contemporary of Alexander, who painted an *Alexander against Darius.*

The frieze at the foot of the mosaic represents the banks of the Nile

covered with Egyptian animals; it is, therefore, almost certainly the work of a Greek artist in Alexandria.

Mosaic of the *Battle of Arbela* (Naples Museum)

The *Comic Scene* found in the House of Cicero, which is smaller than the *Battle of Arbela*, but equally fine, is also the work of a Greek artist. It is especially remarkable for the range of its rich colour scheme and for its wonderfully skilful technique. Our reproduction (coloured plate No. XII.) can only give the general effect.

A Mosaic (after Mazois)

This little mosaic, a veritable masterpiece, is signed in Greek: "*Dioscorides of Samos made this.*" A close examination of the original amazes the student. The decomposition of the tones demanded by the process is carried out with a mastery that few suspect. Tiny cubes cut to the form required fit in the exact place in the mosaic where warm shadows are touched with reflections or where cold lights break into iridescent blues. The iris of the eye is

Mosaic Portrait (Naples Museum)

composed of several very minute fragments, one of which accentuates the gleam in the pupil with a shining dot. The lines of the eyelids, the curve of the nostrils, the crease of the mouth caused by the *rictus* of the mask, the scarlet of the lips, and the high light on them, are all calculated, expressed, and executed with extraordinary power. The harmony is superb; yellow, blue, green, and rose-colour are combined in sober and delicate modelling against a neutral-tinted background, on which the sonorous colours seem almost vocal.

A mosaic, found at Pompei in 1898 near the House of the Vettii, is another work unique of its kind. It has none of the characteristics of the *Comic Scene*, and is treated in an entirely different spirit. By the kind permission of Professor De Petra, director of the Naples Museum, I am enabled to give a reproduction of it. It is the portrait of a young woman, eight inches by seven in size, which was set in the centre of a pavement.

Mosaic in the Prothyrum of the House of the Tragic Poet (Naples Museum)

In spite of the irregularities caused by the wearing away of the small stones, the colour is soft and fused. The border is black, and the ground a

yellowish-brown; the dress is white, and the hair, which is greyish, with reflected lights, is bound by a dark riband. The eyebrows are black, and

Mosaic Frieze of the *Battle of Arbela* (Naples Museum)

the grey eyes liquid and dreamy. The only ornaments are earrings and a pearl necklace with a golden clasp. This remarkable work of art must be seen at a certain distance to be appreciated, when the broken lines of the flesh and the rosy bloom of the cheeks have the effect of a pastel, so rich and supple is the modelling.

Mosaic in the Villa of Diomedes

Lastly, we have a large number of black and white mosaics, with a red or yellow tone, in most original geometrical patterns, the different varieties of which are called *emblema*, *sectile*, and *alexandrinum opus;* the last was a mosaic of three colours. We also find those mosaics which Pliny calls *asarotos œcus*, because they represented an unswept floor. There were also, as we know, mosaic columns and fountains of foreign style, in which blue was the predominant colour. The cubes that compose them are of glass or enamel (*musivum*), while the mosaics of pavements, with their delicate shades of colour, were made of coloured marble (*lithostrotum*).

# SCULPTURE

## I

### ALEXANDRIAN INFLUENCES IN CAMPANIA

ON the death of Alexander the Great, when all the world was *hellenised*, and Greece itself partitioned, local influences had free play and new artistic centres were created. It was then that the youthful capital of Alexandria outstripped all other contemporary centres of civilisation, mainly owing to the genius of the Ptolemies, and took possession of the Hellenistic movement. This movement in Egypt may be called *Alexandrianism*, to distinguish it from the Schools of Pergamum, Rhodes, Tralles, and Greece proper, which were also represented by brilliant artists who worthily carried on the artistic traditions of Greece and produced many masterpieces.

Under the influence of philosophic ideas which had been in vogue for a considerable time, the Greek, who had once been so near to the gods, became more human and more cosmopolitan. The ruggedness of his character was fined down, his nature softened by culture. An ideal realism inspired his artists, and nude statues became more numerous. Though tragic incidents were occasionally represented, they were merely a pretext for charming compositions, in which the graceful curves of youthful bodies delight the eye. The result of this tendency was a certain dainty prettiness of style which became somewhat insipid in the later Pompeian period.

The Oriental and Attic Schools of Hellenism, examples of which are

rare in the plastic art of Pompei, need not detain us; but we may point out that the national art of Egypt had an influence on Alexandrianism, contributing to the movement the sincere spirit of realism which always characterised it. Such a spirit was essentially the same as that of Lysippus, the sculptor, who, coming at a very opportune moment, is justly considered the founder of the Alexandrian School. A new *canon* was adopted in sculpture; the heads of statues became smaller, the figures slighter and more graceful, the hair and other details were more carefully treated. A marked characteristic of the school was the deliberate emphasising of individuality, an outcome of its careful observation of nature; the strength of Hercules was expressed by exaggerating his muscular development, and the beauty of a young girl by a charming insistence on her juvenile grace. Thus, according to Pliny, Lysippus taught that nature was the model to be studied, and not the works of the old masters.

Pompei, a Greek city, came indirectly under these influences, and Alexandrianism was rapidly acclimatised there. Traces of its delightful art are to be met with at every turn. It is a curious fact that in the excavations at Herculaneum no less than six busts of the Ptolemies have been discovered, and this veneration for the kings of Egypt is an additional proof of the deeply-rooted Alexandrian tastes of the Campanian cities.

The art of Pompei, it has been said, is less pure than that of Herculaneum. It is true that Pompei was a trifle frivolous, like every city of pleasure, while at Herculaneum, as at Naples, Greek influences had retained their early power. Nevertheless the two cities, which are but three hours' walk from one another, and lie on the same bay, have the same pictures, the same subjects, the same styles of composition, and the same bronzes.*

If fewer works of the highest order are found in Pompei, the difference is due to the different conditions under which two cities were destroyed on the same day. Herculaneum, in spite of the traces of attempts made by the

* The bronzes of Herculaneum are greenish in colour, and those of Pompei are blue. This is due to the different conditions of the destruction of the two cities.

inhabitants to find their old homes, remained intact; for the hot mud which had flooded the city had hardened on cooling, and the strata that cover it are much deeper than those of Pompei. The city was therefore safe from pillage in ancient times. On the other hand, the *lapilli* (see Part I.) under which Pompei was buried were light, and did not form a solid mass; accordingly, the town was rifled by the former inhabitants, and it is natural to suppose that they did not carry away inferior works of art. The city was finally abandoned by the Pompeians, as no longer worth the trouble of excavation.

Among the sculptures at Pompei are frequently found copies of Hellenistic originals, which in their turn were often reproductions of Greek works of art altered to suit the taste of the day. Painting borrowed largely from sculpture, and sculpture in its turn took ideas from painting for the arrangement of groups. Collectors of marbles, like connoisseurs of pictures, all wished to be the possessors of an example of a great master's work, and many sculptors made *pasticci*. Even at Pompei there were collectors who posed as persons of taste, and who filled their houses with statuettes which a dealer had palmed off on them as originals. The Lucretius we have mentioned, the owner of a garden full of marble statuettes, was an artless would-be connoisseur of a kind that has never died out.

# II

REPRODUCTIONS OF WORKS BY GREEK SCULPTORS—THE *DORYPHORUS* OF POLYCLETUS—THE *BACCHUS* OF PRAXITELES—THE LYCIAN *APOLLO—HERCULES AND THE DOE*, BY LYSIPPUS—THE WORKS OF THE "ARCHAICISTS"—POLYCHROMATIC MARBLE STATUES

THE statues of greatest artistic value at Pompei are mostly of bronze, and came from the old houses in the city. The *Dancing Faun* was found in the House of Cassia (the House of the Faun), which dates from the Samnite period; *Hercules and the Doe* in the House of Sallust, which is of the same style; the House of Pansa owned the group of *Bacchus and Ampelus*, and in the House of Popidius was found the life-size statue of *Apollo*, a late essay in the archaic style.

The Doryphorus of Polycletus
Marble Statue in the Naples Museum)

An interesting feature of Pompei is that the principal periods of sculpture are all represented there, beginning with Polycletus, who lived in the latter half of the fifth century B.C. A marble copy of his *Doryphorus* stood in the *palæstra*. M. Guillaume, speaking of this statue, says: "The whole work gives the effect of redoubtable strength,

Bacchus (Bronze Statuette in the Naples Museum)

regulated by discipline and exercise. It is unostentatious, it is seen and forgotten, and the youth that tempers it is shown by a sort of abandonment of self to Nature. These powerful forms do not, however, express physical strength only; they show a dignity, a becoming modesty, a discreet self-confidence, a frame of mind worthy of a free man, in short."*

This statue was the Greek *canon* or standard, based on a system of measurement, according to Guillaume, "by which it should be possible to find the dimensions of a part by the dimensions of the whole, and the dimensions of the whole from the least of its parts." This formula, which provided for every detail, was the result, in Polycletus' case, of mathematical investigations; but the principle, excellent in the hands of the master, was in danger of becoming a convention useless to all but artists of the highest talent. The statues of Polycletus are characterised by a great feeling for noble strength, but his figures are somewhat massive and lacking in charm.

Marble Statue of the Lycian Apollo (Naples Museum)

This charm, idealistic and captivating, is seen at its highest in Praxiteles, who with Phidias represented the twofold character of Greek genius. Praxiteles, in the words of M. Collignon, "first

* *Dictionnaire de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts*, and *Sculpture Grecque*, Vol. II., by M. Collignon.

revealed to the plastic art of Greece the suppleness and grace that can be given to the human form by a carefully arranged attitude." The *Bacchus*, found in a wash-house, is, in M. Martha's* opinion, a very fine Greek specimen of this style. "The delicacy of the forms, a certain 'bloom of youth,' an indefinable and almost feminine charm, the careless grace of the attitude, the contrasting play of the hip and shoulders, the sinuous lines from head to foot, the free and varied action of the arms, the pose of the legs, which expresses the balance of a movement momentarily checked rather than the immobility of repose, at once reveal the

Dancing Faun (Bronze Statuette in the Naples Museum)

Bronze Head (Naples Museum)

school of Praxiteles, if not the hand of the master himself." This statuette, which is too often referred to as the *Narcissus*, had silver eyes—(a common detail in Greek statues)—and was, in Martha's opinion, a small copy of one of the Dionysi or Satyrs of Praxiteles. The fawn-skin, and the ivy-berries that crown the head of the statue, which are attributes

* Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art.*

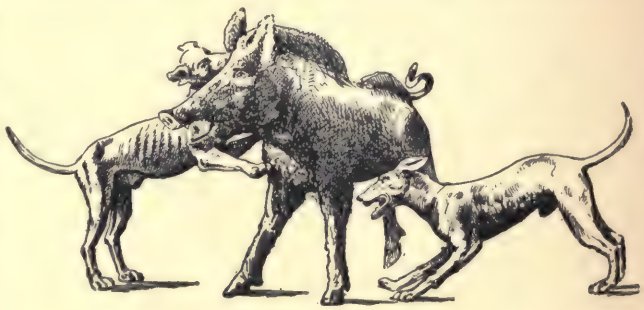
of Dionysus, and not of Narcissus, are quoted by archæologists in favour of the identification with Bacchus; one foot also is not set on the ground, but raised to beat a measure, while the first finger of the right hand emphasises a command to some animal, perhaps the attendant panther.

Bronze Statuette of Silenus drunk (Naples Museum)

The *Apollo at Rest*, a statue of brilliant polished marble, may be attributed to the school of Praxiteles. This statue is certainly a reproduction of the Lycian *Apollo*, to whom the gymnasium at Athens was dedicated, described by Lucian in his *Anacharsis*. (The movement of the figure is a favourite one in ancient statues.)

The small group of *Bacchus and Ampelus* is of a mixed school, and there is something of Praxiteles' manner in the figure of Ampelus. The eyes and the inlaid work on the base are of silver.

We may next admire a youthful head, found at Pompei;* the mysterious and the beautiful are combined in this enigmatic face. The expression is strained, the head droops forward in a sort of bewildered amazement, the lips are parted, the eyes fixed, and lost in vague contemplation. The head was bound by a gold fillet, and the hair is treated in the manner of the great Greek sculptors. No explanation has been given of this Greek masterpiece. We will not insist



Bronze Animals (Naples Museum)

* Not at Herculaneum, as Rayet states.

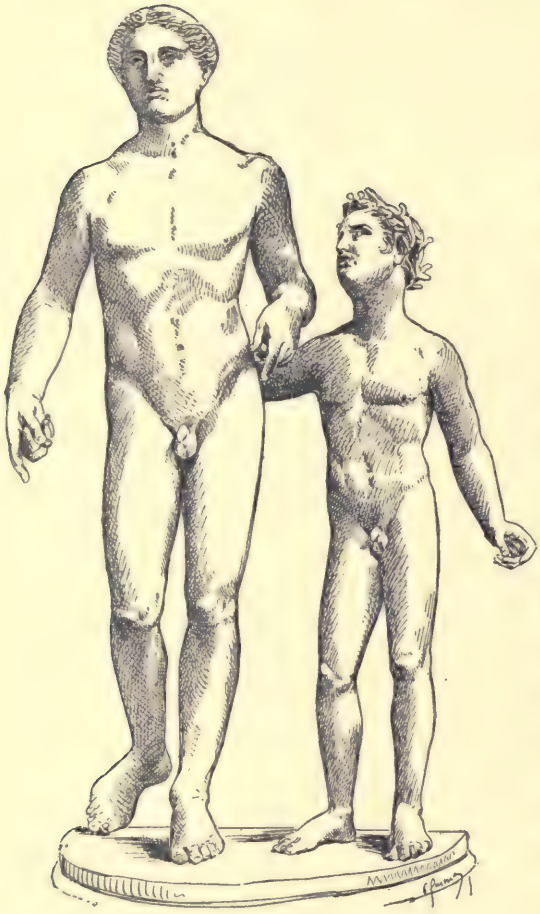
on its kinship to the works of Praxiteles; but it is a work of a very high order, admirable in its grace and masterly in treatment.

The small bronze figure of a *Faun* is full of life and vigorous activity; the balance of the movement as the body sways to the strenuous Bacchic measure, and the firm elastic modelling of the flesh, give great animation to the little figure. The same spirit (one in which Asiatic influences are to be noted) informs the bronze *Silenus*, planted firmly on his feet, who struggles to regain the balance that wine has made him lose. He exerts his full strength to support the weight on his arm; the strain is shown chiefly by his right hand, which acts as a counterpoise. This bronze recalls the shaggy Pappo-Sileni in Pompeian paintings, where Bacchus is represented as a hermaphrodite.

Satyr with the Wine-skin (Bronze Statuette in the Naples Museum)

Bronze Group of Hercules and the Doe[1] (Museum of Palermo)

The statuette of the *Satyr with the Wine-skin* is bold, natural, and full of action, and is treated with the freedom of a sketch in the clay.



Bronze Statuettes of Bacchus and Ampelus
(Naples Museum)

The first stage of Alexandrian art is represented by a bronze group in the Museum at Palermo of *Hercules and the Doe*, a subject very famous in antiquity. The group from Pompei must certainly be a replica of the original by Lysippus, a detailed description of which is given in an epigram in the Greek anthology.

The style of this group is peculiar; the hair is treated with great technical skill, and the coat of the doe is indicated by the tool all over the body, and on the breast by a small star. The modelling of the figures is very correct, and the whole group is marked by the extreme finish characteristic of the style of Lysippus, who, according to Pliny, carried his passion for detail into the minutest portions of his work. The *Two Dogs and a Boar* is another example of his style.

Bronze Statuette of Apollo, in the revived Archaic Style
(Naples Museum)

A large bronze statue of *Apollo Sagittarius*, from the Temple of Apollo, follows the canon of Lysippus in its graceful proportions, but is somewhat cold. It is the work of a Greek sculptor in Italy in the first century B.C., and is perhaps a reminiscence of an older statue.

At the same period (88 B.C.) Pasiteles, a Greek

artist born in Southern Italy, whom we have already mentioned, came into prominence. His art was a reaction against the naturalistic school; he took the works of the archaic Attic period as his models, thus giving his work, according to Collignon, "a mixed character of doubtful harmony."

Polychrome Marble Statue of Diana, in the revived archaic Style (Naples Museum)

No work by Pasiteles has come down to us, but there are statues in his style at Pompei, as, for example, the *Apollo Citharœdus*. In this figure the hair is rolled round a circlet which confines the head, and falls in a fringe of curls. The face with its large silver eyes has an enigmatic expression in keeping with the character of Apollo, the god of prophecy. The right hand still holds the *plectrum*, but the lyre has disappeared. This temporary revival of the archaic style was popular among the Roman *dilettanti*, who had wearied of the realism of Alexandrian art, and who perhaps found in it a touch of the lost Egyptian feeling which had inspired many of the Roman sculptors. Indeed, the work of the archaic Attic school has some analogies with the art of the ancient Egyptians.

The archaicists of the first century B.C. did not slavishly imitate early statues, for, as M. Collignon remarks, a nude Apollo Citharœdus is unknown in archaic art; but they tried to give a special charm to their work by a certain mannered distinction. Thus, in the charming marble Diana, with gilded hair and robes coloured in places (like the more ancient mutilated statue of the goddess in the old Attic style in the museum of the Acropolis at Athens*), the figure is represented in an attitude which is never seen in genuine archaic statues. She is walking almost on tip-toe,† a conclusive

* See Collignon, *La Polychromie dans la Sculpture grecque.* † Emmanuel, *La Danse grecque antique.*

proof that the Artemis of Pompei is only a free imitation of the archaic style.*

Another beautiful statue, which was taken from a *lararium*, shows traces of archaicism in its accessories. The statue itself is not of this character, but the small figure against which the goddess is leaning is in the archaic style. The Venus is very beautiful: she holds the apple, and with her right hand seems to invite the homage due to the loveliness of her half-nude body. The legs are covered by an orange mantle lined with greyish-blue. The hair is a warm yellow, the eyes and eyebrows are black, and the ears are pierced. The small archaic figure is dressed in a green and yellow *chiton*, and wears on her head the *modius*.

Statue of Venus in Polychrome Marble
(Naples Museum)

Colour is sparingly used on marble statues in Pompei, as in the archaic statues, which were only partially tinted. The dress, or some details of the ornament of the draperies, is coloured, while the smooth clear marble does duty for the flesh, untouched save for the wax with which it was lightly coated, an operation which, while preserving the surface of the statue, gave the effect of the warm lustre of pearly carnations. Touches of colour on eyes, eyebrows, and lips completed the illusion; the goddess appeared possessed of all her living charm and all her power.

* Winckelmann, who saw the statue when it was first discovered, gives a detailed description of the colours, which have since faded: golden hair, wide fillet set with gilt rosettes, tunic bordered with pink, *peplum* with a narrow band of reddish-purple, on which white palm-leaves were painted, to represent embroidery. The thongs of the sandals, and the strap which holds the quiver, are painted pink and purple. The strap of the quiver has white dots representing silver nails.

# III

*PUTTI*—MARBLE FURNITURE—BUSTS OF MEN AND WOMEN—OFFICIAL STATUES

CERTAIN sculptures introduce us to a more intimate art, to the charming *putti* of bronze, marble or terra-cotta, which are very Alexandrian in character, and resemble the Loves in Pompeian paintings. Audacious as these are, they are nevertheless made useful in a variety of ways; they hold lamps, ornament fountains, or pour out water. Several of them have dolphins in their arms, like the Cupid of the epigram. "This Love is naked; see how he smiles! He is of gentle aspect, for he has neither bow nor burning arrows. 'Tis not without reason he has in his hands a dolphin and a flower, for in the one he holds the land, and in the other the sea."

Bronze Lamp-holder (Naples Museum)

The gardens and *viridaria* of Pompei were full of these statuettes, often combined with figures of Bacchus, Silenus, Satyrs, and fishers. The marble basins and the *cartibulum* in the *atrium* were often veritable works

Marble Table (Pompei)

of art. (The *cartibulum* in the House of Cornelius Rufus and the three-legged table which was found in a small house in Pompei are very fine.) The tables that stood against the walls are made of the finest kinds of veined marble, and were supported by terms with women's heads, or heads of Bacchus and Silenus, like those in the little museum at Pompei, which is constantly being enriched by new discoveries.

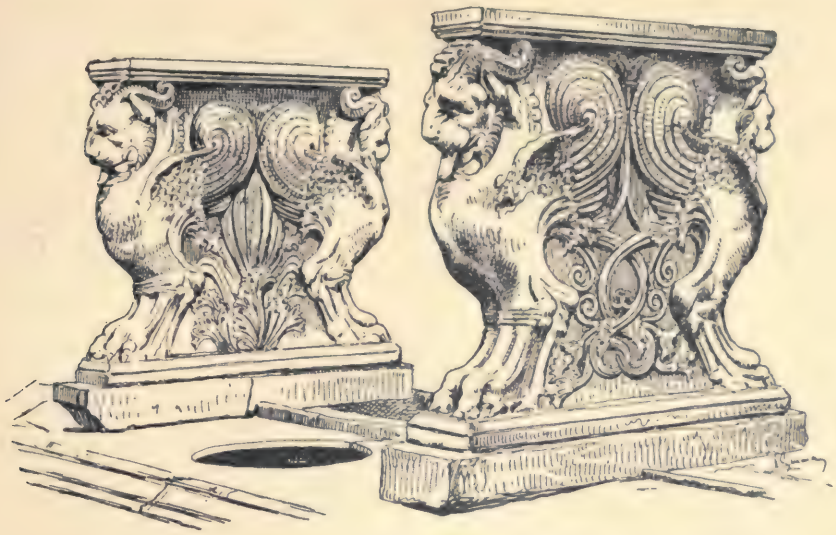
The greatest possible variety is shown in the various designs, which are wonderfully clever and ingenious. The subject is always suited to the material employed and the use for which it is destined—simple qualities, too often forgotten in modern art. There is no extravagance or exaggeration in Pompeian sculpture; everything is sober, carefully considered, and well balanced. The artist's work shows no sign of effort; he follows a superior guidance, drinking at the fountain-head. Here is Hellenism in all its purity.

Bronze Cupid (Naples Museum)

Marble Bust of a Pompeian Woman (Naples Museum)

A great number of these sculptures must

have been executed in Campania by Greek artists who had settled there.



The Feet of the Cartibulum of Cornelius Rufus

The busts which still preserve the living charm of the buried Pompeian women must have been their work. One of them has an archaic stamp which is not without a certain charm.

There are also portraits of rich townsmen

Bronze Putto (Torch-bearer)
(Naples Museum)

Marble Busts of Pompeian Women
(Naples Museum)

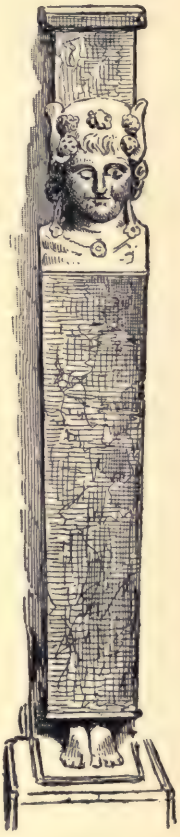
of Pompei—Jucundus, Norbanus, Sorex, and Cornelius Rufus; and

of public priestesses, the best known of whom is the priestess Eumachia.*

Another statue of extremely pure white marble is a portrait of Octavia, a priestess of Augustus. In spite of the official dress, the figure with its

Marble Foot of a Table, Monopodium (Museum of Pompei)

Marble Statue of Octavia, Priestess of Augustus (Naples Museum)



Marble Foot of a Table, Monopodium (Museum of Pompei)

carefully curled hair and conscious elegance is too coquettish to inspire respect. She is a beautiful woman in a conspicuous position, delighted with the admiration she excites.

Holconius Rufus, whose name is so often found on the public buildings of the city, is represented in the Imperial dress. The head was a separate

* See the statue of Eumachia, p. 103; the bust of Jucundus, p. 214; the bust of Norbanus Sorex, p. 80.

work, and was probably placed on the body of a Roman Emperor. This was usual under the Emperors, for the official statue is always the same, the head only varies. The statue, which was partially coloured, was found broken beside its pedestal, on which is the following inscription:* "To Marcus Holconius

Marble Bust of Cornelius Rufus

Marble Statue of Holconius Rufus (Naples Museum)

Rufus, son of Marcus, duumvir, magistrate for the fifth time, quinquennalis, military tribune elected by the people, priest of Augustus, and head of the colony."

* See p. 193.

# IV

## TERRA-COTTA STATUES AND STATUETTES—BAS-RELIEFS AND VARIOUS OBJECTS OF TERRA-COTTA—POLYCHROME TERRA-COTTA

MANY of the terra-cotta statues are of much larger dimensions than is usual at the present day. The most important are life-size, like the Jupiter and Juno from the so-called Temple of Æsculapius. They are not of much artistic interest, but there are two life-size figures in the Naples Museum—statues of *ephebi* wrapped in the *pallium* and standing in a manly and graceful attitude, which are remarkable. There are also some terra-cotta statues, of which the lower part alone remains, and some portions of which, if not the whole,* must have been cast from the life. An example of this class of work is a statue of a child, where the small figure is very life-like and realistic in its treatment, and very well modelled. The arms are unfortunately wanting.

Terra-Cotta Statue of a Child (Naples Museum)

A statue, which M. von Rohden calls the *Sick Man*† —an old man seated, with only one foot visible, and holding a roll of papyrus—is a Greek type, and may be the portrait of some Greek philosopher. The two statues of an actor and an actress (p. 170) are very different in style. The actor, standing squarely on his feet, is the

* These casts must have been used as votive offerings.

† H. von Rohden, *Die Terra-cotten von Pompeji.*

more interesting of the two, and reminds one of the outline of a well-known work of Rodin's. The folds of drapery are sober in treatment and roughly but sufficiently indicated. The mask has two deep cavities in place of eyes, which gives the face a curious expression. These statues were either polychrome or were intended to be coloured, and several of them were painted with a first coat of white; very few ancient statues of terra-cotta which are entirely without any trace of colour have been discovered so far.

Ephebus wearing the Himation (Terra-cotta Statue in the Naples Museum)

The gargoyles of the Greek temple (the Temple of Hercules) were coloured, and a lion's head has been found which is painted yellow; the mane is black, and the mouth and the inside of the ears are coloured red. The terra-cotta gutters and *antifixæ* still show traces of colouring, and many of them had been covered with a coat of white stucco to block out the ornament, which had probably gone out of fashion.

Terra-cotta Statue of a Greek Philosopher (Naples Museum)

Statuettes were coloured like the Tanagra figurines, as may be seen from the specimens, a Venus, a Minerva, Æneas, Anchises, and Ascanius, a fruit-seller, and a Greek or Roman *Charity*, which is a replica of a painting in Pompei. The Lares of the poor were made of terra-cotta, and also *Atlantes*, pottery of all kinds, common utensils, vases representing ithyphallic actors, and a figure of a woman carrying a swaddled baby. Besides these there are innumerable toys and votive offerings in

this material, pigs, hens, cocks, pigeons, dogs, cats, panthers, horses, dolphins,

Telamon supporting a Table, Terra-cotta (in the Pompei Museum)

Terra-cotta Lamp coated with a Metallic Glaze, Lucerna bylichnis (Naples Museum)

Bas-Relief of Terra-cotta (Region VI. Insula XV.)

Gargoyle of a Gutter, Terra-cotta (Pompei Museum)

tritons, birds, doves, bears, rams, and so on, all cleverly modelled and fairly correct in their main characteristics. We find, too, models of fruit, apples,

oranges, pomegranates, and pine-apples, and a great quantity of lamps, many of the larger sort coated with a metallic glaze.

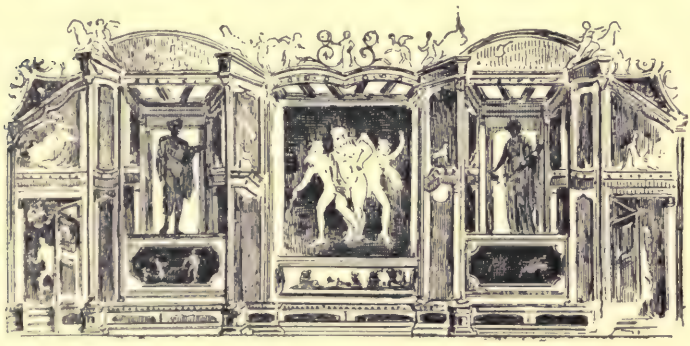
*Victory driving a Biga* is represented in three bas-reliefs in the same house, each of which is fastened to the wall by three large nails. Here, again, colour is used on terra-cotta. The horses are orange-red; Victory is dressed in green, with a cap of the same; the hands and face are pink, and the colours are exactly like those used on antique statuettes.

There are no specimens at Pompei of the ancient earthenware vases of pure and artistic shapes with painted ornament. The fragments of pottery that have been found are of Etrusco-Campanian ware, generally coated with a brilliant black glaze, and imitating bronze and silver plate. Several of these vases are red and glazed; they have necks, and are fluted and decorated very simply. The almost entire absence of vases like those found at Nola in Campania is due to the same cause which prevents our discovering Italiot paintings in the immediate neighbourhood of Pompei.

# V

WHITE AND POLYCHROME STUCCO—STUCCO FIGURES—A STUCCO MASK

STUCCO, as we have seen, was very largely used in Pompei, and the richness of the mural decorations, which gave an impression of Alexandrian magnificence, was partly owing to the use of stucco. In the pre-Roman style it was employed to imitate architectural reliefs, and at a later period to avoid the expense of marble. The best kind of stucco work is contemporary with what is known as the Architectural Style.



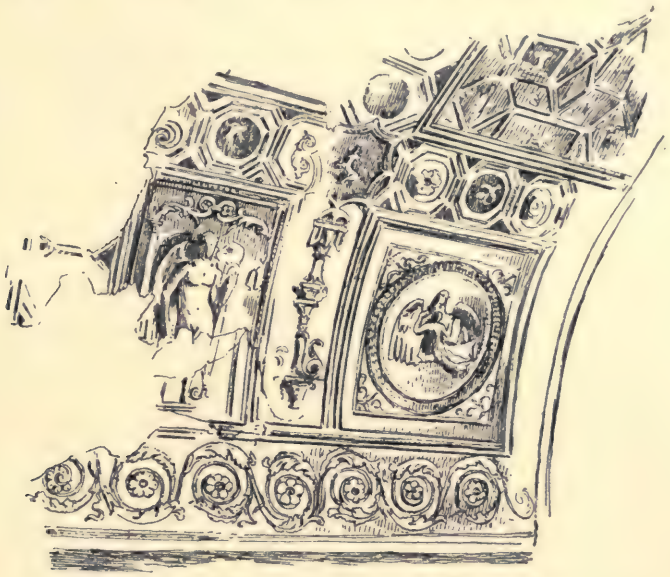
Polychrome Stucco-work (Naples Museum)

Although in some respects decorated stucco, like polychrome terra-cotta, is connected with the art of painting, and makes use of colour in the background, in certain moulded ornaments, and even in panels where the figures are left in relief, it belongs to plastic art, and is closely allied to bas relief and sculpture in marble, of which it is an imitation.

The most interesting specimen of these panels is preserved in the Naples Museum. It has the character of the Third Style of decoration, which was in vogue under the early Emperors. The architectonic details are in stucco relief, and also the central group which represents Silenus drunk, accompanied by a Faun and a Bacchante. The figures on the

pediments, and the figures which appear to be opening doors, are also in relief. The ground of the centre panel is red, and so are the small truncated rectangles, which are painted with mythological scenes. They are surrounded by a border of azure blue, and the single figures on either side are coloured. Yellow, blue, green, red, and black are used in the various complex decorative details of the ornament.

The colouring of decorative stucco-work has disappeared in many cases, or is very much faded, as in the Baths of Stabiæ. Here the detail



Stucco-work in the Apodyterium of the Baths of the Forum

is crowded and exaggerated ; stairs, small columns supporting porticoes hung with drapery, and festoons of garlands are represented ; and in the foreground of the painted panels all Olympus is enthroned, and athletes, animals, and landscapes cover the teeming walls. The vaulted roof of the *tepidarium* of the Baths of the Forum is more sober in style, and the panels and coffers of the ceiling are skilfully combined, and decorated with figures on a red or blue ground. In a frieze there are bands of graceful foliage, and a candelabrum, like those introduced in painting, separates two of the motives. In the *tepidarium*, stucco imitates marble bas-reliefs more closely than in the previous examples.

Stucco is particularly interesting when it is applied to figures. On one

Stucco Figure in the Naples Museum

of the outer walls of the *megarum* of the Temple of Isis there is a graceful group, in which a slender woman, partly draped in a floating veil, is remarkable for spirited treatment and supple grace.

The small figure holding a lyre, rapidly modelled in soft stucco as though it were clay or wax, has the same qualities. Traces of the artist's methods are so clearly marked in stucco-work of this kind that we can easily follow the process.

Stucco Group in the Megarum of the Temple of Isis

The ground of flat stucco was applied wet. It is easy to see the contours indicated on the moist surface with a pointed instrument, or a trowel, used flat or pointed, and skilfully emphasising the relief of the forms. These stuccoes resemble those of the Farnesina,* and would be taken at the present day for rough models, for the head, hands, and feet are usually unfinished. They are but "impressions" rapidly thrown off, and in this lies their originality. There are plenty of examples of ancient bas-reliefs, where masterly modelling is combined with accurate drawing; here, however, we get the same qualities in the rough, and note the freshness and spirit of the Campanian artist, and his eminently decorative sense. Much of this stucco work is infinitely superior in artistic feeling to many marble bas-reliefs of the Roman period. They

Alexandrian Head
(from the Collection of M. Noël)

* See Collignon, "Le Style décoratif à Rome" (*Revue de l'Art*, September and October 1897).

have the advantage of rapid execution *a fresca;* retouching was inadmissible; and Alexandrian art found in stucco a wide scope for its delicate and imaginative work.

As a last example of stucco, we give a small mask, made of the finest quality of stucco, like ivory in effect, which was found in the neighbourhood of Pompei. It has not been noticed hitherto; the face, with its malicious smile and great searching eyes, has a gently ironical expression. The head is bound with pendant fillets, covering the hair, which is wreathed with ivy-berries. This mask of the Alexandrian Bacchante may have been an ornament for some piece of furniture. It is too delicate in workmanship to have been one of the hanging masks fastened to a tree to drive away birds and evil spirits.

# OBJETS D'ART

## I

### SILVER

THE common articles of daily use in Pompei are of such high artistic merit that they might be included under the head of *objets d'art.* There is such a large collection of these, that we have given illustrations of them throughout the book, and in this chapter we will only notice the finest and most artistic specimens, for description and illustration of the whole collection would fill a volume.

Drinking-cup, Scyphus (Naples Museum)

Silver plate was the ostensible sign of wealth and of the pride of wealth, and the abuse of this extravagant fashion, which came originally from the East, was punished, says Pliny, by the Social War of Sylla. However, the taste of "risen" men who had made their fortunes remained the same, as is shown by the splendid silver plate in the Naples Museum, the Bernay and Hildesheim treasures, and, above all, by the treasure discovered at Bosco Reale, near Pompei, on the estate of Signor de Prisco, and generously presented to the Louvre by Baron Ed. de Rothschild. M. Héron de Villefosse has written a learned and appreciative account*

* "Communications faites à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres," in the meetings of

of this collection, and has described and commented on each specimen separately. This treasure* was found in the vat of a wine-press in a country villa buried near Bosco Reale, to the north of Pompei. Beside it was stretched a skeleton, surrounded by a hundred gold pieces and some jewellery. Another skeleton was found in the house, and cast by the process described in Part I.

Silver Cantharus (Naples Museum)

Silver Drinking-cup, Cantharus, from the Bosco Reale Treasure (The Louvre)

The one hundred and two articles in this collection include cups, vases, trays, shells, saucepans, salt-cellars, mirrors, and bowls.

The most important bowl has as an ornament the bust of a woman supposed to be the personification of the city of Alexandria. This is not surprising, for Pompei, as we have seen, is full of souvenirs of the banks of the Nile. M. Héron de Villefosse gives a detailed description of this bowl, and enumerates thirty different emblems on it—the *uræus*, the bow, the quiver, the crescent, the horn, the *sistrum*, the panther, the lion, &c., all on a *patera* only eight-and-a half inches round! In spite of their number, the emblems are so carefully distributed and well balanced that the effect is not

Silver Drinking-cup, Modiolus (Naples Museum)

June 28 and November 8, and in the annual public meeting on November 15, 1896 (extracts from the minutes of the Académie). See also fascicules IX. and X. of the *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Piot.*

* A hundred and two pieces. Seven of these were generously added to the collection by other donors.

Cast of a Body from the Country Villa at Bosco Reale

artistic merit of their workmanship needs no comment.

On the *canthari* there are Loves frolicking on an ass, a panther, and a lion, whose tail is pulled by a laughing *putto*. There is an elephant led by Loves, one of whom drags him by the trunk; and many other charming trifles in the Alexandrian style. On two drinking vessels there are cranes and storks feeding their young, or flying with outspread wings.

The two *œnochoæ* with bi-lobed necks, on which a winged genius and a Victory are sacrificing a bull before the statue of Minerva, are also very fine. There are further some charming cups ornamented with conventional olive-branches, salt-cellars supported by griffins, and two mirrors, with centre ornaments, representing respectively Leda and Ariadne. The mirror with Ariadne is signed with the name of the artist,

Drinking-cup. Scyphus from Bosco Reale (The Louvre)

in the least heavy. The workmanship is exceedingly fine and delicate throughout.

The bowls are ornamented with table utensils, and food, animals, fruit, and mushrooms. Many of them are signed CABEINOC (*Sabeinos*), and the

Vessel for pouring out Wine, Lagona, from Bosco Reale (The Louvre)

MOSAIC — A COMIC SCENE
(CICERO'S VILLA)

MOSAIC FOUNTAIN
(CASA DELL' ORSO)

M. Domitius Polygnos, in dotted letters. Other specimens from this collection are the two vases with skeletons, which were passed round after a meal, according to the Epicurean custom. Greek inscriptions are engraved on them in dotted letters, and the names of Euripides, Monimos,

Silver Bowl, with relief representing the City of Alexandria, from Bosco Reale (The Louvre)

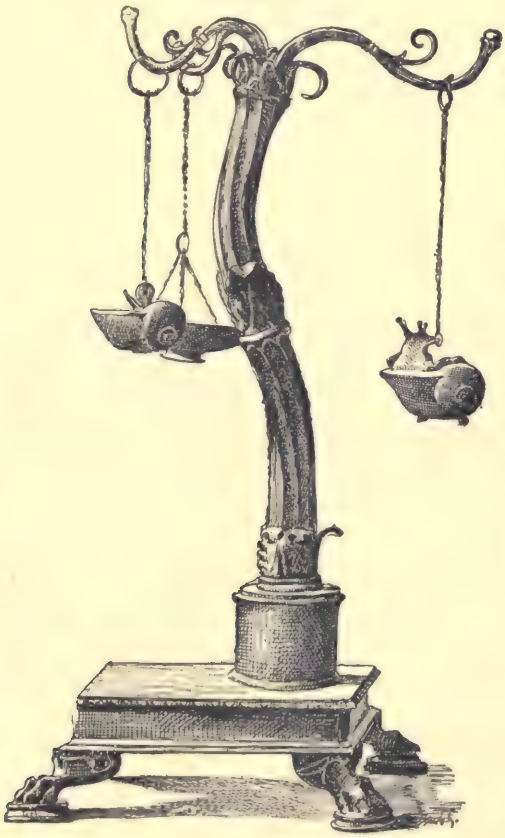
Menander, Archilochus, Zeno, Epicurus, Sophocles, and Moschion can be deciphered.

Statuettes of precious metals have also been found at Pompei: a seated Jupiter of silver, a Harpocrates, and figures of Isis; a golden votive lamp, and small silver human skeletons and Lares. On one of the *canthari* found in the *Casa di Meleagro* the name SOSINI LAPII is engraved.

# II

## BRONZE ARTICLES

THE various objects of bronze are as artistic in their way as the silver plate for rich men's tables, and the silver tripods, where perfumes were burned in honour of the gods. The candelabra and lamps of all shapes are remarkable for their grace of outline and the variety of their ornament. The graceful bronze tripod* in the Naples Museum, with its three Fauns standing back to back,† shows the influence of Alexandrian art in the slimness and vigour of the figures, while the careful chasing is inspired by the school of Lysippus. The tripod of the Temple



Bronze Lamp-holder (Lychnuchus)

Bronze Door-knocker with Silver Eyes (Naples Museum)

* Bronze tripods were often given as prizes to the victors in games.

† See p. 76.

of Isis, with its marked Græco-Egyptian character, has the same qualities of style,* and the folding tables, seats, *bisellia*, and large bronze vessels, are all of great interest. Even the handles of vessels are often miniature works of art. The drawing in the text illustrates one of these handles which ends in a bust of the Hyperborean Apollo on the wings of a swan, holding a lyre and a *plectrum*. Although they are simple in form, the vessels, *cratera*, and *œnochoæ*, of various shapes and styles, have their handles chased, and ornamented with a figure of a woman, a bird, or an animal. Decorative foliage is often used with very picturesque effect, and *canthari* are wreathed with climbing ivy. The very keys are artistic in form, and the knockers on the doors are Medusa heads, with silver eyes and lolling tongues. In all these objects we note once more that all-pervading Asiatic taste already noted. The candelabra,

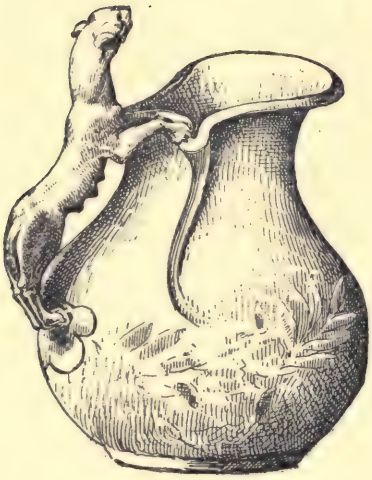
Bronze Lamp (Naples Museum)

Bronze Candelabrum (Naples Museum)

Bronze Handle of a Vessel, Hyperborean Apollo (Naples Museum)

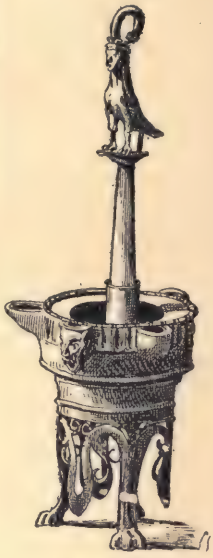
* See p. 84.

lamps, and bronzes at Pompei have an exotic touch which call up Oriental reminiscences. It is possible that artists from Asia may have introduced their peculiar Eastern style, giving such works a mixed character, which



Bronze Vase

Bronze Crater
(Naples Museum)



Bronze Lamp

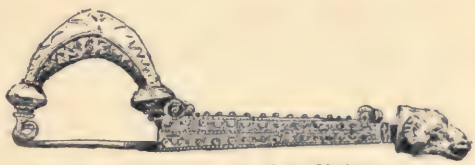
has a certain originality. The decorative use of cranes and storks as ornaments for vessels closely recalls Japanese ornament; and I noted the same artistic analogy in some Pompeian paintings, where the ducks and swans are very like those in Japanese *kakemonos.**

* Alexandrian art was always under the domination of Greek, Asiatic, and Egyptian influences. The Phœnician and Cypriot spirit (which is derived from the Egyptian and Assyrian) also added its note to the very complex harmony.

# III

## JEWELLERY—GLASS

ART had set its stamp everywhere; the eye demanded its satisfactions, and to the luxury of silver and chased bronze indulged in by the men, the women added that of the jewels that were their appanage. The gold jewellery of our drawings was found on the dead bodies of young women in the Villa of Diomedes. For delicacy of detail and minute workmanship these specimens have not been surpassed by any modern goldsmith's work. Their Etrusco-Grecian style is a proof of their antiquity, for the Etruscans were famous for their skill in fine goldsmith's work, which they had learnt from Greece and from the East, and their jewellery was largely worn by both men and women. In ornaments in the Greek style, precious stones were not always used, for, to quote M. Collignon, "Greek artists attached a greater value to artistic workmanship than to costly materials."*

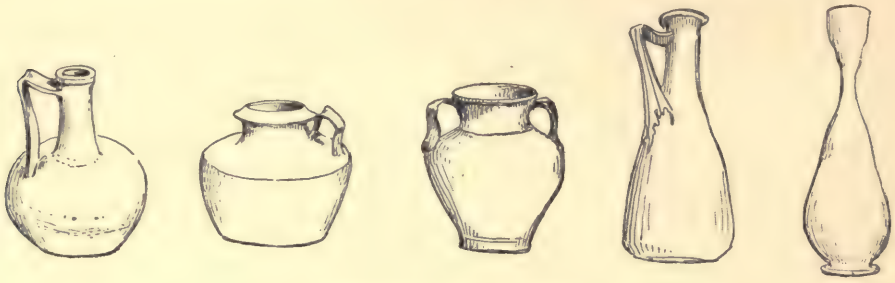


Gold Brooch found on one of the Skeletons in the Villa of Diomedes (Naples Museum)

At Pompei, however, precious stones were in great demand, and there are some magnificent specimens of engraved gems in the Naples Museum. There are cameos, in high relief, of such delicate workmanship that the skill of the artist who carved the narrow surfaces of these gems—cornelian, amethyst, emerald, topaz, rock crystal, onyx, jasper, agate, and garnet—

* M. Collignon, *Archéologie grecque.*

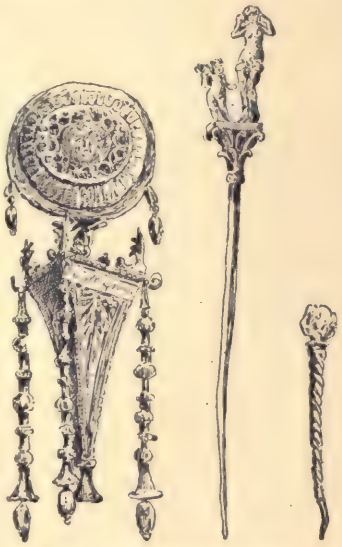
seems almost miraculous. Glass paste was also very largely used, and



Glass-ware (Naples Museum)

women of small means, or who were cheated by dealers, wore these *simili*, which were very good imitations. Beads of all colours are found almost every day at Pompei, and several drops of colourless glass have been found which are covered with a thin coat of silver.

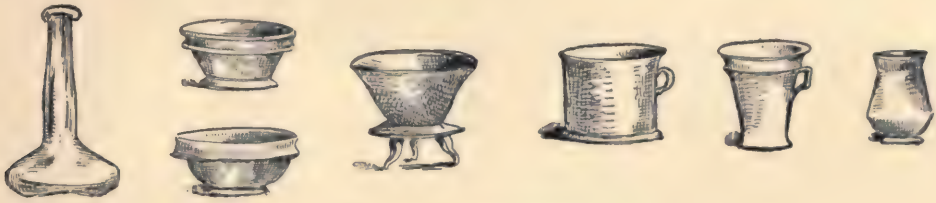
Glass was a material in everyday use in Pompei. Besides the glass panes in certain houses which are left as they were found, or placed in the Museum of Pompei, there is an extremely fine collection of antique glass from the city in the Naples Museum: vases, pots, funnels, small *amphoræ*, cups, dishes, bowls, flagons, and drinking-glasses of all sorts and sizes. Several glasses are decorated with uncut gems and small beads applied to the surface when the glass was still in fusion. Some fine specimens of this kind, made of white or smoked glass, might be Bohemian or Venetian. Examples of the richly decorated goblets of moulded glass



Gold Jewellery found on the Skeletons in the Villa of Diomedes (Naples Museum)

Drinking-glasses (Naples Museum)

made at Tyre may also be seen, and the Phœnician glass-ware from Sidon



Glass-ware (Naples Museum)

included not only clouded and translucent glass, but also *alabastra* and small amphoræ with striated ornament.

The fine amphora with raised ornament found in the Way of Tombs, of the same style as the Portland Vase in the British Museum, is famous. It is of blue and white glass, and on the body of it are represented Loves as vintagers, surrounded by decorative trails of vine-boughs growing from two masks. The vase is very pure in colouring, and the workmanship is wonderfully delicate. The layer of blue glass which forms the background gives admirable relief to the raised ornament in light tones, which shade off into pure opaque white in the thickest parts. With this little blue amphora I will bring my study to an end. May it, too, have exhaled something of the antique perfume!

Phœnician Glass
Alabastrum
(Naples Museum)

Vase of Blue and White Glass
(Naples Museum)

IMPRESSION.—In this pleasant city, full of treasures of art, we see, always and everywhere, an all-pervading sentiment, the love of beauty. If

the art of the late periods, under the influence of Roman civilisation, has its faults, they are but the defects of its qualities. The art of Pompei was the inseparable companion of its life, and gave it an added beauty by touching the commonest objects with an ideal grace, and decking stern existence with the amorous elegance born of dreams.

Greece had so strong an influence on these dwellers by the Mediterranean, offshoots of its mighty genius, that the people of Southern Greek Italy, unconsciously steeped in the same ideas, and drawing inspiration from the same source, preserved the inheritance of the art of their forefathers; and though they finally wasted their patrimony, what remains of it is still delightful. All that is graceful, pleasant, and lovely in Pompeian art is due to Greek or Hellenistic influence. The taste of the Roman Empire, which was gaining ground during the last period, would have destroyed the last page in the book. The volcano put an end to the decadence.

To sum up, our prevailing feeling is one of admiration. It is strange that an obscure provincial city should contain so much beauty! What modern town can be compared with it? The last rays of the art of Greece shine from this dusty casket.

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